



Drake perorati novit quem terminus orbis,
 Et quem bis mundi vidit uterq. Polus;
 Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum,
 Sol nescit comitis non memisse sui.



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Sir Francis Drake Revived.

Who is or may be a Pattern to stirre up all
Heroicke and active SPIRITS of these
Times, to benefit their Countrey and
eternize their Names by like Noble
A T T E M P T S.

Being a Summary and true Relation of foure
severall *VOYAGES* made by the said
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE to the
WEST-INDIES.

VIZ.

His dangerous adventuring for GOLD and SILVER with
the gaining thereof. And the surprizing of *Nombre de dios* by
himselſe and two and fifty Men.

His Encompassing the WORLD.

His Voyage made with Christopher Carleill, Martin Frobisher,
Francis Knollis, and others. Their taking the Townes of Saint
Jago, Sancto Domingo, Carthagena and Saint Augustine.

His last Voyage (in which he dyed) being accompanied
with Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baskersfield, Sir Nicholas Clif-
ford, with others. His manner of Buriall.

Collected out of the Notes of the said Sir Francis Drake;
Maſter Philip Nichols, Maſter Francis Fletcher, Preach-
ers; and the Notes of divers other Gentlemen (who
went in the said Voyages) carefully compared together.



Printed at London for Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the
South entrance of the royall Exchange, 1653.



TO the READER.

Courteous READER,



*These ensuing Voyages,
and Travels of that ad-
venturous and valiant
Worthy, Sir FRANCIS
DRAKE; the Penner
more trusting to the
worth of the Subject it
treateth of, then the wor-
thinesse of the Collectors
performance, have made*

*bold to become an object to thy eye, not doubting but
under the fortitude of the most ingenious and generous
Spirits, this may not only crave, but find a lenevolent
shelter from those many envious & injurious detra-
ctions which the ignorant may aspersively cast ther-*

To the READER.

on, rather censuring then commending and following things of this nature, not knowing what belongs there unto. Things of greatest profit require least praise; Painting better beseemes rotten Walls then pretious Stones; therefore superfluous eloquence bestowed upon a matter of sufficient excellence, is rather a testimony of a trifling Wit, then a token of true wisdom. Vouchsafe therefore (gentle Reader) this ensuing discourse thy favorable censur, sith thou canst loose nothing by glancing on former Actions; for the observation of passed Adventures, may probably advance future Employments. Cæsar wrote his own Commentaries, and this Dooer was partly the Indicator; Nor is there wanting living testimony to confirme its Truth. For his sake then cherish what is good, and I shall willingly entertain check for what is amisse. And if thou canst picke out any thing either for thy use or content, 'tis thine, and I am pleased.

And whereas Example is the publicke ayme of all; be pleased (Courteous READER) to take a Character of this heroicke Worthy; and I desire thee to observe with me in these ensuing Treatises, the power and justice of the Lord of Hosts, who could enable someane a Person to right himselfe up-

TO the READER.

on so mighty a Prince, together with the goodnesse and Providence of God very observable, in that it pleased him to raise this Man not onely from a low condition, but even from the state of Persecution; his Father suffered in it, being forced to flye from his House (neere South Tavistock in Devon), into Kent, and there to inhabit in the Hull of a Ship, wherein many of his younger Sonnes were borne; he had twelve in all, and as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the Water, so the greatest part of them dyed at Sea: the youngest, who though he were as farre as any, yet dyed at home, whose Posterity inherites that, which by himselfe and this noble Gentleman, the eldest Brother, was hardly yet worthily gotten.

I could more largely acquaint thee with all his foure VOYAGES made into the WEST-INDIES, after that his excellent service both by Sea and Land in Ireland, under WALTER Earle of Essex. His next about the WORLD. Another wherein he tooke Saint Iago, Carthagen, Saint Domingo, Saint Augustino; his doings at Cadiz; besides the first Charricke taught by him to Sayle into England. His stirrings in Eighty seven, his remarkable

TO the READER.

markable Actions in Eighty eight ; his endeavours in the Portugall imployment ; his last Enterprize determined by death, and his filling Plimmouth with a plentifull streame of fresh Water ; But I passe by all these, I had rather thou shouldest enquire of others then to seeme my selfe a vain-glorious man. I intend not his praise, I strive onely to set out the praise of his and our good God, that guided him in his truth, and protected him in his courses : my ends are to stirre thee up to the worship of God, and service of thy Countrey by his example. If any thing be worth thy consideration, conclude with me, that the Lord onely can doe great things,

R. D.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
REVIVED.

Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate
AGE, to follow his Noble Steps for
GOLD and SILVER.



There is a generall vengeance, which secretly pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no Man of purpose empeach them: so is there a particular indignation engrafted in the bosom of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all means possible to redresse or remedy the wrong received. In so much as those great and mighty Men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bred such an over-weening of themselves, that they do not onely wrong their inferiours, but despise them being injured; seem to take a very unfit course for their own safety, and far unfitter for their rest. For as *Aesope* teacheth, even the Flye hath her spleene, and the Emmer is not without her choller, and both together many times finde

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Sir *Francis* DRAKE Revived.

means whereby though the Eagle lay her Eggs in *Jupiter's* lap, yet by one way or other, she escapeth not requitall of her wrong done the Emmer.

Among the manifold examples hereof, which former Ages have committed to memory, or our time yeelded to fight; I suppose, there hath not beene any more notable then this in hand; either in respect of the greatnesse of the person, by whom the first injury was offered; or the meanes of him, who righteth himselfe. The one being (in his own conceit) the mightiest Monarch of all the World; the other an *English* Captain, a mean subject of her Majesties Who (besides the wrongs received at *Rio de Hacha* with Captaine *John Lovell* in the years 65. 66.) having beene grievously indamaged at *Saint John de Ullua* in the Bay of *Mexico*, with Captaine *John Hawkins*, in the years 67. 68. not onely in the losse of his Goods of some value, but also of his Kinsmen & friends, and that by the falshood of *Don Martin Henriquez* then the Viceroy of *Mexico*; & finding that no recompence could be recovered out of *Spain* by any of his own means, or by her Majesties letters; he used such helps as he might, by two severall Voyages into the *West Indies*; the first with two Ships, the one called the *Dragon*, the other the *Swan*, in the year 70. the other in the *Swan* alone in the year 71. to gaine such intelligences as might further him to get some amends for his losse. And having, in those two Voyages, gotten such certaine notice of the persons & places aymed at, as he thought requisite; and thereupon with good deliberation, resolved on a third Voyage (the Description wherof we have now in hand) he accordingly prepared his Ships & Company; and then taking the first opportunity of a good wind, had such success in his proceedings, as now followes further to be declared.

May 24.

1572.

On Whitsunday Eve being the 24. of *May*, in the year 1572. Captain *Drake* in the *Pascha* of *Plimoth* of 70. tons his

his Admirall, with the *Swan* of the same Port of 25 tons his Vice-Admirall, in which his brother *Iohn Drake* was Captain (having in both of them of men and boyes seventy three, all voluntarily assembled, of which the eldest was fifty, all the rest under thirty : so divided that there were forty seven in one ship, twenty six in the other; both richly furnished, with victuals and apparell for a whole year : and no lesse heedfully provided of all manner of Muniti- on, Artillery, Artificers, stufte and tooles, that were requisite for such a Man of war in such an attempt, but especially having three dainty Pinnases, made in *Plimouth*, taken asunder, all in peices and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served : set sayl from out of the Sound of *Plimouth*, with intent to land at *Nombre de dios*.

The wind continued prosperous & favorable at North-east, and gave us a very good passage, without any alteration or change : so that albeit we had sight of *Porto Santo* June 3. one of the *Maderas*, & of the *Canaries* also within twelve dayes of our setting forth: yet we never strook sayle, nor came to anchor, nor made any stay for any cause, neither there or else where, untill 25. dayes after ; When we had sight of the Island of *Guadalupe*, one of the Islands of the June 28. West Indies, goodly high land.

The next morning we entred between *Dominica* & *Gua-* June 29. *dalupe*, where we descried two canoas, coming from a rocky Iland, three leagues off *Dominica*, which usually repair thither to fish, by reason the great plenty thereof, which is there continually to be found. We landed on the South side of it, remaining there three days to refresh our men, & water our ships, out of one of those goodly rivers, which fall down off the mountain. There we saw certain poore cottages built with Palmito boughs and branches, but no inhabitants at that time civill nor savage ; the cottages it may be, (for we could know no certaine cause of the soli-

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tainesse we found there) serving, not for continuall inhabitation, but only for their uses that came to that place at certaine seasons to fish.

- July 1. The third day after, about three in the after-noon, we set sail from thence, towards the continent of *Terra firma*. And the fifth day after, we had sight of the high land of *Santa Martha*, but came not neer the shoar by ten leagues. But thence directed our course, for a place called by us *Port Pheasant*, for that our Caprain had so named it in his former voyage, by reason of the great store of those goodly Fowls, which he and his Company did then dayly kill, and feed on, in that place. In this course, notwithstanding
- July 12. we had two dayes calme, yet within six dayes we arived at our *Port Pheasant*, which is a fine round Bay, of very safe harbour for all winds, lying betweene two high points, not past halfe a cables length over at the mouth, but within eight or ten cables length every way, having ten or twelve fadome water, more or lesse, full of good fish, the soile also very fruitfull; which may appear by this, that our Captaine having been in this place, within a year and few dayes before, and having rid the place with many alleyes and paths made, yet now all was so overgrowne againe, as that we doubted at first, whether this were the same place or no.

At our entrance into this Bay, our Captaine having given order to his brother what to do, if any occasion should happen in his absence, was on his way, with intent to have gone a land, with some few only in his company, because he knew there dwelt 10 *Spaniards* within thirty five leagues of that place. *Tolou* being the neereft to the Eastwards, and *Nomb e de dios* to the westwards, where any of that Nation dwelt. But as we were rowing a shoar, we saw a smoak in the woods, even neer the place which our Caprain had aforetime frequented; therefore thinking it fit to take

take more strength with us, he caused his other boat also to be manned with certain muskets, and other weapons, suspecting some enemy had been a shoar.

When we landed, we found by evident markes, that there had been lately there, a certaine *English* man of *Plimouth* called *Iohn Garret*, who been conducted thither by certain English Mariners, which had been there with our Captaine in some of his former voyages. He had now left a plate of Lead, nailed fast to a mighty great tree (greater then any four men, joyning hands, could fathom about ;) on which were engraven these words directed to our Captaine.

Captain Drake, if you fortune to come to this Port, make hast away; For the Spanyards which you had with you here the last year, have bewrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed from hence this present 7. of Iuly 1572.

Your very loving friend

IOHN GARRET.

The smoake which we saw, was occasioned by a fire, which the said *Garret* and his Company had made before their departure, in a very great tree (not farre from this which had the Lead nayled on it) which had continued burning at least five dayes before our arrivall.

This advertisement notwithstanding, our Captaine ment not to depart, before he had built his Pinnaces, which were yet aboard in pieces, for which purpose he knew this Port a most convenient place. And therefore so soon as we had moored our ships, our Captaine commanded his Pinnaces to be brought ashore, for the Carpenters to set up, himself employing al his other company in fortifying a place which he had chosen out as a most fit plot of three quar-

ers of an acre of ground, to make some strength or safety for the present, as sufficiently as the meanes he had would afford, which was performed, by felling of great trees & bowling and haling them together with great Pulleis and halfers, untill they were inclosed to the waters, and then letting others fall upon them, untill they had raised with trees and boughs thirty foot in height round about, leaving only one gate to issue at neer the waters side, which every night (that we might sleepe in more safety and security) was shut up, with a great tree drawn a'rthwart it. The whole plot was built in a Pentagonall form, *to wit*, of five equall sides and angles, of which angles two were towards the sea, and that side between them was left open, for the easie launcing of our Pinnases: the other four equal sides were cholely (excepting the gate before mentioned) firmly closed up. Without, instead of a trench, the ground was rid for fifty foot space, round about. The rest was very thick with trees, of which many were of those kindes, which are never without green leaves, till they are dead at the root (excepting onely one kind of tree amongst them, much like to our Ash, which when the Sun commeth right over them, causing great raines, suddenly casteth all their leaves, *viz.* within three dayes, and yet within six dayes after becomes all green againe; the leaves of the other trees do also in part fall away, but so as the trees continue still green notwithstanding) being of a marvelous height, and supported as it were with five or six naturall buttresses growing out of their bodies, so far, that three men may so be hidden in each of them that they which shall stand in the very next buttresse shall not be able to see them. One of them specially was marked to have had seven of those stayes or buttresses for the supporting of his greatnes & height, which being measured with a line close by the barke and neer to the ground, as it

was

was indented or exrant, was found to be above thirty nine yards about. The wood of those trees is as heavie or heavier then *Brasil* or *Lignum vita*, and is in colour white.

The next day after we had arrived, there came also into that Bay an English Barke of the Isle of *Wight* of Sir Edward Horseyes, wherein James Ramse was Capt. & John Overy Master, with thirty men; of which, some had beene with our Captain in the same place the year before. They brought in with them a *Spanish* Carvell of *Sivell* (which he had taken the day before, athwart of that place, being a Carvell of *Adviso* bound for *Nombre de Dios*) and also one Shallop with Oares, which he had taken at *Cape Blancke*. This Captain *Ramse* understanding our Captains purpose was desirous to joyne in consort with him; and was received upon condicions agreed on between them.

Within seven dayes after his comming, having set up our Pinnaces, and dispatched all our busines, in providing all things necessary, out of our Ships into our Pinnaces: we departed from that Harbour, setting sayle in the morning towards *Nombre de Dios*, continuing our course till we came to the Isles of *Pinos*; where being within three dayes arrived, we found two Fregates of *Nombre de Dios*, lading Planke and Timber from thence.

The *Negroes* which were in those Fregates, gave us some particular understanding of the present state of the Town: and besides, told us that they had heard a report, that certain Souldiers should come thither shortly, & were daily looked for from the Governor of *Panama* and the Countrey thereabout, to defend the Town against the *Symerons* (a black People, which about eighty years past, fled from the *Spaniards* their Masters, by reason of their cruelty, and are since growne to an Nation under two Kings of their own; the one inhabiteth to the West, th' other to the East of the way from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*) who had neer surprised it about six weeks before.

Our

Our Captaine willing to use those *Negroes* well (not hurting himselfe) set them a shoare upon the maine, that they might perhaps joyn themselves to their COUNTRYMEN the *Symerons*, and gaine their liberty if they would, or if they would not, yet by reason of the length and troublesome of the way by land to *Nombre de Dios*, he might prevent any notice of his coming, which they should be able to give. For he was loath to put the Towne to too much charge (which he knew they would willingly bestow) in providing before-hand for his entertainment, and therefore he hastened his going thither, with as much speed and secrecy as possibly he could.

To this end, disposing of all his companies, according as they inclined most, he left the three Ships and the Carrell with Captaine *Rause*, and chose into his foure Pinnases (Captaine *Rauses* Shallop made the fourth) besides fifty three of our men, twenty more of Captain *Rauses* company, with which he seemed competently furnished, to achieve what he intended: especially having proportioned, according to his own purpose, and our mens disposition, their severall armes, viz. six Targets, six Firepikes, twelve Pikes, twenty four Muskets and Callivers, sixteen Bowes, and six Partizans, two Drums, and two Trumpets.

July 28.

Thus having parted from our company, we arrived at the Iland of *Cativaas*, being twenty five leagues distant; about five daies after there we landed all in the morning betimes; and our Captain trained his men delivering them their severall weapons and armes, which hitherto he had kept very faire and safe in good caske; and exhorting them after his manner, he declared the greatnesse of the hope of good things that was there: the weakenesse of the towne being unwall'd, and the hope he had of prevailing, to recompence his wrongs, especially now that he should come with such a crew, who were like minded with himselfe;

and

and at such a time, as he should be utterly undiscovered.

Therefore even that afternoone, he caused us to set saile for *Nombre de dios*, so that before sun set we were as farre as *Rio Francisco*: thence he led us hard aboard the shore (that we might not be descried of the Watch house) untill that being come within two leagues of the point of the Bay, he caused us to strike a hull, and cast our grap-pers, riding so untill it was darke night.

Then we weighed againe and set sayle, rowing hard aboard the shoare, with as much silence as we could, till we recovered the point of the harbour under the high land: there we stayed all silent, purposing to attempt the towne in the dawning of the day, after that we had reposed our selves for a while.

But our Captain with some others of his best men, finding that our people were talking of the greatnesse of the towne and what their strength might be, especially by the report of the Negroes that we tooke in the Isle of *Pinos*: thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads, and therefore to take the opportunity of the rising of the Moone that night, perswading them that it was the day dawning. By this occasion we were at the Towne a large hour sooner then first was purposed. For we arrived there by three of the clocke after midnight: at what time it fortun'd that a ship of *Spaine*, of sixty runnes, laden with Canary wines and other Commodities, which had but lately come into the Bay, and had not yet fild her sprit-sayle, espying our four Pinnases, being an extraordinary number, and those rowing with many Oares, sent away her Gundeloe towards the Towne, to give warning; but our Captaine perceiving it, cut betwixt her and the Towne, forcing her to go to th'other side of the Bay: whereby we landed without impeachment, although we found one Gunner upon the Platform, in the

very place where we landed, being a Sandy Bay and no Key at all, not past twenty yards from the Houses.

There we found six great Pieces of brasse Ordnance, mounted upon their Carriages, some Demy, some whole Culvering: we presently dismounted them, the Gunner fled, the Towne tooke alarme (being very ready thereto, by reason of their often disquieting, by their neer neighbours the *Symerons*) as we perceived, not only by the noyse and cryes of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and Drums running up and down the Towne.

Our Captaine, according to the directions which he had given over night, to such as he had made choyce of for the purpose, left twelve to keep the Pinnaces, that we might be sure of a safe retreat, if the worst befell. And having made sure worke of the Platforme before he would enter the Town, he thought best, first to view the Mount, on the East side of the Towne, where he was informed, by sundry intelligences the yeare before, they had an intent to plant Ordnance, which might scower round about the Towne. Therefore leaving one halfe of his company, to make a stand at the foot of the mount, he marched up presently unto the top of it, with all speed, to try the truth of the report for the more safety. There we found no peece of Ordnance, but onely a very fit place prepared for such use, and therefore we left it without any of our men, and with all celerity returned downe the Mount. Then our Captaine appointed his Brother, with *John Oxnam* and fixteene other of his men to goe about behind the Kings treasure-house, and enter neere the Easter end of the market-place: himselfe with the rest, would passe up the broad streer, into the market-place, with sound of Drum and Trumper.

The **F**repikes divided halfe to the one, and halfe to the other company, served no lesse for fright to the Enemy, then

then light of our Men, who by this meanes might discern every place very well, as if it were neere day, whereas the Inhabitants stood amazed at so strange a sight, marvelling what the matter might be; and imagining, by reason of our Drums and Trumpets sounding in so sundry places, that we had beene a farre greater number then we were.

Yet by meanes of the Souldiers which were in the Towne, and by reason of the time which we spent in marching up and downe the Mount, the Souldiers and the Inhabitants had put themselves in Armes, and brought their Companies in some order, at the South-east end of the Market-place, neere the Governours House, and not farre from the Gate of the Towne, which is onely one, leading towards *Panama*, having (as it seemes) gathered themselves thither, either that in the Governours fight they might shew their Valour, if it might prevaile, or else that by the Gate they might best take their *Vale*, and escape readiest.

And to make a shew of farre greater numbers of shot, or else of a custome they had, by the like device to terrifie the *Symerons*, they had hung Lines with Matches lighted, overthwart the Wester-end of the Market-place, betweene the Church and the Crosse, as though there had beene in a readinesse some company of shot, whereas indeed there was not past two or three that taught these Lines to dance, till they themselves ran away, as soone as they perceived they were discovered.

But the Souldiers, and such as were joyned with them, presented us with a jolly hot volley of shot, beating full upon the egress of that Street in which we marched, and levelling very low, so as their Bullets oft-times grazed on the Sand. We stood not to answer them in like rearmes; but having discharged our first volley of shot, and fea-

thered them with our arrowes (which our Captaine had caused to be made of purpose in *England*, not great sheafe arrowes, but fine roving shafts, very carefully reserved for the service) we came to the push of Pike, so that our fire-pikes being well armed and made of purpose, did us very great service. For our men with their Pikes and short weapons, in short time tooke such order among these Gallants, some using the but-end of their Peeces instead of other weapons, that partly by reason of our arrowes, which did us there notable service, partly by occasion of this strange and sudden closing with them, in this manner unlooked for, and the rather for that at the very instant, our Captaines brother, with the other Company, with their fire-pikes, entred the market-place by the Easter-street: they casting downe their weapons, fled all out of the Towne by the gate aforesaid, which had been built for a barre to keepe out of the Towne the *Symerons*, who had often assailed it, but now served for a gap for the *Spaniards* to fly at.

In following and returning, diverse of our men were hurt, with the weapons which the Enemy had let fall as he fled: somewhat, for that we marched with such speed, but more for that they lay so thicke and crosse one on the other.

Being returned, we made our stand neer the midst of the market place, where a tree groweth hard by the crosse; whence our Captaine sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the Alarme Bell, which had continued all this while: but the Church being very strongly built and fast shut, they could not without firing (which our Captaine forbad) get into the steeple where the Bell hung.

In the meane time, our Captaine having taken two or three *Spaniards* in their flight, commanded them to shew them the Governours house, where he understood

stood was the ordinary place of unlading the Moyles, of all the treasure which came from *Panamah* by the Kings appointment : Although the silver onely was kept there : the gold, pearle and jewels (being there once entred by the Kings Officer) was carried from thence to the Kings treasure house not farre off, being a house very strongly built of lime and stone, for the safe keeping thereof.

At our comming to the Governours house, we found the great doore (where the Moyles do usually unlade) even then opened ; a Candle lightred upon the top of the stayers ; and a faire Gennet ready sadled, either for the Governour himselfe or some other of his house-hold to carry it after him. By meanes of this light, we saw a huge heape of Silver, in that nether roome : being a pile of bars of silver, of as (neere as we could guesse) seventy foot in length, of ten foot in breadth, and twelve foot in height, piled up against the wall, each barre was between thirty five and forty pound in weight. At sight hereof our Captaine commanded straightly that none of us should touch a barre of silver, but stand upon our weapons, because the Towne was full of people, and there was in the Kings treasure house neere the waters side, more gold and jewels then all our four Pinnaces would carry, which we would presently set some in hand to break open, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* reports of the strength of it.

We were no sooner returned to our strength, but there was a report brought by some of our men, that our Pinnaces were in danger to be taken, and that if we our selves got not aboard before day, we should be opprest with multitudes both of Souldiers and townes people. This report had his ground from one *Diego a Negro*, who in the time of the first conflict, came and called to our Pinnaces, to know whether they were Captaine *Drakes* ? and upon answer received, continued intreating to be taken aboard

(though he had first three or foure shot made at him) untill at length they fetch him, and learned by him, that not past eight dayes before our arrivall the King had sent thither some hundred and fifty Souldiers to guard the Towne against the *Symerons*, and the Towne at this time was full of people besides : which, all the rather beleaved, because it agreed with the report of the Negroes, which we tooke before at the Isle of *Pinos* : and therefore our Captaine sent his brother aud *John Oxnam* to understand the truth thereof. They found our men, which we left in our Pinnaces, much frightened, by reason that they saw great Troopes and Companies running up and downe, with matches light, some with other weapons ; crying *Que gente ? que gente ?* which having not been at the first conflict but comming from the utter ends of the Towne (being at least as bigge as *Plimouth*) came many times neere us, and understanding that we were *English*, discharged their Peeces and ran away.

Presently after this, a mighry shower of raine, with a terrible storme of thunder and lightning, fell, which powdered downe so vehemently (as it usually doth in those Countries) that before we could recover the shelter of a certaine shade or pent-house, at the Wester end of the Kings treasure-house (which seemeth to have been built there of purpose to avoid Sunne and Raine) some of our bow-strings were wet, and some of our match and powder hurt : which while we were carefull of to refurnish and supply ; diverse of our men, harping on the reports lately brought us, were muttering of the Forces of the Towne, which our Captaine perceiving, told them, that he had brought them to the mouth of the treasure of the World, if they would want it, they might henceforth blame no body but themselves. And therefore as soone as the storme began to assuage of his fury (which was

a long halfe houre) willing to give his Men no longer leasure to demurre of those doubts, nor yet allow the Enemy farther respite to gather themselves together ; he stept forward, commanding his Brother, with *John Oxnam* and the Company appointed them, to breake the Kings Treasure-house ; the rest to follow him, to keep the strength of the market place, till they had dispatched the businesse for which they came.

But as he stept forward, his strength and sight and speech failed him, and he began to faint for want of blood, which as then we perceived, had, in great quantity, issued upon the Sand, out of a wound received in his legge in the first incounter, whereby though he felt some paine, yet (for that he perceived diverse of the Company, having already gotten many good things, to be very ready to take all occasions, of winding themselves, out of that conceited danger) would he not have it knowne to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it, the blood having first filled the very prints which our foot-steps made, to the great dismay of all our Company, who thought it not credible, that one man should be able to spare so much blood and live.

And therefore even they, which were willingest to have adventured most, for so faire a booty, would in no case hazzard their Captaines life ; but (having given him somewhat to drinke wherewith he recovered himselfe, and having bound his Scarfe about his legge, for the stopping of the blood) entreated him to be content to goe with them aboard, there to have his wound searched and drest, and then to returne a shoare againe if he thought good.

This when they could not perswade him unto (as who knew it utterly) impossible, at least very unlikely, that ever they should (for that) returne againe, to recover the
state

state in which they now were; and was of opinion, that it were more honourable for himselfe, to jeopard his life for so great a benefit, then to leave off so high an enterprize unperformed:) they joyned altogether, and with force mingled with faire intreaty, they bare him aboard his Pinnace, and so abandoned a most rich spoyle for the present, onely to preserve their Captaines life, as being resolved of him, that while they enjoyed his presence, and had him to command them, they might recover wealth sufficient; but if once they lost him, they should hardly be able to recover home, no not with that which they had gotten already.

July 29

Thus we embarked by breake of the day, having besides our Captaine, many of our Men wounded, though none slaine but one Trumpeter: whereupon though our Chyrurgeons were busily employed, in providing remedies and Salves for their wounds; yet the maine care of our Captaine was respected by all the rest: so that before we departed out of the Harbour for the more comfort of our Company, we tooke the aforesaid Ship of Wines without great resistance. But before we had her free off the Haven, they of the Towne had made meanes to bring one of their Culverins, which we had dismounted, so as they made a shot at us, but hindered not us from carrying forth the Prize to the Isle *Bastimientes*, or *The Isle of Visuales*; which is an Iland that lyeth without the Bay to the Westwards, about a league off the Towne, where we stayed the two next dayes, to cure our wounded Men, and to refresh our selves in the goodly Gardens which we there found, abounding with great store of all dainty Roots and Fruits, besides great plenty of Poultry and other Fowles, no lesse strange then delicate.

Shortly upon our first arrivall in this Iland, the Governour and the rest of his assistants in the Towne (as we after-

afterwards understood) sent unto our Captaine a proper Gentleman of meane stature, good complexion, and faire spoken, a principall Souldier of the late sent Garrison, to view in what state we were. At his comming he protested he came to us of meere goodwill, for that we had attempted, so great and incredible a matter with so few men : and that at the first they feared that we had beene *French*, at whose hands they knew they should finde no mercy : but after they perceived by our Arrowes, that we were *English* men, their feares were the lesse, for that they knew, that though we tooke the Treasure of the place, yet we would not use cruelty towards their persons.

But albeit this his affection gave him cause enongh, to come aboard such whose vertues he so honoured, yet the Governour also had not only consented to his comming, but directly sent him, upon occasion that diverse of the Towne affirmed (said he) that they knew our Captaine, who the last two yeares had beene often on their Coast, and had alwayes used their persons very well. And therefore desired to know, first, whether our Captaine were the same Captaine *Drake* or no ? and next, because many of their men were wounded with our Arrowes, whether they were poysoned or no ? And how their wounds might best be cured ? Lastly, what victuals we wanted or other necessaries ? Of which the Governour promised by him to supply and furnish us, as largely as he durst. Our Captaine although he thought this Souldier but a Spy : yet used him very courteously, and answered him to his Governours demands. That he was the same *Drake* whom they meant : it was never his manner to poyson his Arrowes : they might cure their wounded by ordinary Chyrurgery : as for wants he knew the Iland of *Bastimentos* had sufficient, and could furnish him if he listed : but

he wanted nothing but some of that speciall commodity, which that Countrey yeelded, to content himselfe and his Company. And therefore he advised the Governour to hold open his eyes, for before he departed, if God Lent him life and leave, he meant to reape some of their Harvest, which they get out of the Earth, and send into *Spaine* to trouble all the Earth.

To this answer unlooked for, this Gentleman replied: If he might without offence move such a question, what should then be the cause of our departing from that Towne at this time, where was above three hundred and sixty Tun of silver ready for the Fleet, and much more Gold in value, resting in Iron Chests in the Kings Treasure-house? But when our Captaine had shewed him the true cause of his unwilling retreat aboard; he acknowledged, that we had no lesse reason in departing, then courage in attempting: and no doubt did easily see, that it was not for the Towne to seeke revenge of us, by manning forth such Frigates or other vessels, as they had: but better to content themselves and provide for their owne defence.

Thus with great favour and courteous entertainment, besides such gifts from our Captaine as most contented him: after dinner he was in such sort dismissed, to make report of that he had seen, that he protested, he was never so much honoured of any in his life.

After his departure, the Negroe fore-mentioned, being examined more fully, confirmed this report of the Gold and Silver, with many other intelligences of importance, especially how we might have Gold and Silver enough if we would, by meanes of the *Symerons*, whom though he had betrayed diverse times (being used thereto by his Masters) so that he knew they would kill him, if they gat him: yet if our Captaine would undertake his
protexion

protexion, he durst adventure his life, because he knew our Capitaines name was most precious and highly honoured of them.

This report ministred occasion to further consultation: for which, because this place seemed not the safest; as being neither the healthiest nor quietest. The next day in the morning we all set our course for the Isle of *Pinos* or *Port Plentie*, where we had left our Ships, continuing all that day and the next, till towards night before we recovered it. We were the longer in this course, for that our Capitaine sent away his Brother and *Ellis Hixon* to the westward, to search the river *Chagro*, where himselfe had been the yeare before, and yet was carefull to gaine more notice of, it being a River which tendeth to the Southward within six leagues of *Panamah*, where is a little Town called *Venta Cruz*, whence all the treasure, that was usuallly brought thither from *Panamah* by Moyles, was imbarqued in Frigates, downe the River into the North Sea, and so to *Nombre de dios*. It ebberth and floweth not farre into the land, and therefore it asketh three dayes rowing with a fine Pinnace to passe from the mouth to *Venta Cruz*, but one day and a night serveth to returne downe the River.

At our returne to our Ships, in our consultation, Cap- Aug. 1.
taine *Rause* forecasting divers doubts, of our safe continuance upon that Coast, being now discovered, was willing to depart: and our Capitaine no lesse willing to dismiss him: and therefore as soone as our Pinnaces returned from *Chagro*, with such advertisements as they were sent for, about eight dayes before: Captaine *Rause* tooke Aug. 7.
his leave, leaving us in the Isle aforesaid, where we had remained five or six dayes. In which meane time, having put all things in a readinesse, our Capitaine resolved, with his two Ships and three Pinnaces to goe to

Carthagene, whither in sayling we spent some six dayes, by reason of the calmes which came often upon us : but all this time we attempted nothing that we might have done by the way, neither at *Tolou* nor elsewhere, because we would not be discovered.

Aug. 13.

We came to anchor with our two Ships in the evening in seven fadome water, betweene the Ilands of *Charesha* and *Saint Barnards* : Our Captaine led the three Pinnaces about the Iland, into the Harboure of *Carthagene* ; where at the very entry, he found a Frigate at anchor, aboard which was onely one old Man ; who being demanded, where the rest of his company was ? answered, that they were gone ashore in their Gundeloe that evening, to fight about a Mistris : and voluntarily related to our Captaine that two houres before night, there past by them a Pinnace, with Sayle and Oares, as fast as ever they could row, calling to him, whether there had not beene any *English* or *Frenchmen* there lately ? And upon answer that there had been none : they bid them looke to themselves : that within an houre, that this Pinnace was come to the utter-side of *Carthagene*, there were many great Peeces shot off ; whereupon one going to top, to descry what might be the cause ? Espyed, over the Land, divers Frigates and small shipping, bringing themselves within the Castle.

This report our Captaine credited, the rather, for that himselfe had heard the report of the Ordnance, at Sea, and perceived sufficiently, that hee was now descryed : notwithstanding, in farther examination of this old Mariner, having understood, that there was, within the next Point, a great Ship of Sivell, which had here discharged her loding, and rid now with her yards acrosse, being bound the next morning for *Saint Domingo* : our Captaine tooke this old Man into his Pinnace, to verifie that

that which he had informed, and rowed towards this Ship, which as we came neere it, hailed us, asking whence our Shallops were? We answered, from *Nombre de dios*: straight way they railed and reviled: We gave no heed to their words: but every Pinnace, according to our Captaines order; one on the starboord bough, the other on the starboord quarter, and the Captaine in the midship on the starboord side; forthwith boarded her, though we had some difficulty to enter, by reason of her height, being of two hundred forty Tun. But as soone as we entred upon the Decks, we threw downe the gates and spardecks, to prevent the *Spaniards* from annoying us with their close fights: who then perceiving that we were possessed of their Ship, stowed themselves all in hold with their weapons, except two or three yonkers, who were found afore the beetes: when having light out of our Pinnaces, vve found no danger of the enemy remaining, we cut their Cables at halfe, and with our three Pinnaces, towed her without the Iland, into the sound right afore the Towne, without danger of their great shot.

Meane while the Towne having intelligence hereof, by their Watch, tooke th'alarme, rung out their Bels, shot off about thirty Peeces of great Ordinance, put all their Men in a readinesse, Horse and Foot, came down to the very point of the Wood, and discharged their Calivers, to impeach us if they might in going forth.

The next morning our Ships tooke two Frigates, in which vvere two, vwho called themselves the Kings *Scrivanos*, the one of *Carthagene*, th'other of *Veragua*, vwith seven Mariners and two *Negroes*: vwho had beene at *Nombre de dios*, and vvere now bound for *Carthagene*, vwith double Letters of Advice, to certifie them that Captaine Drake had beene at *Nombre de Dios*, had taken it, and had it not beene that He was hurt with some blessed shot, by all

Aug. 14.

likelihold he had sackt it: he was yet still upon the Coast: they should therefore carefully prepare for him.

After that our Captaine had brought all his Fleet together: at the *Scrivanos* entreaties, he vvas content to doe them all fauour, in setting them and all their Companies ashore; and so burt thence with the Ilands of *Saint Bernards*, about three leagues off the Town; where vve found great store of Fish for our refreshing.

Here our Captaine considering that he vvas now discovered, upon two of the chiefest places of all the Coast, and yet not meaning to leave it, till he had found the *Sumerons*, and made his Voyage, as he had conceived, which would require some length of time, and sure manning of his Pinnaces, he determined with himselfe, to burne one of his Ships, and make of the other a Storehouse, that his Pinnaces (which could not otherwise) might be thoroughly Manned, and so he might be able to abide any time. But knowing the affection of his Company, how loath they vv ere to leave either of their Ships, being both so good Saylers, and so vv ell furnished; he purposed in himselfe by some Policy, to make them most vvilling to effect that he intended. And therefore sent for one *Thomas Moore* (vvho vvas Carpenter in the *Swanne*) and taking him into his Cabin, chargeth him to conceale for a time, a piece of service, vv hich he must in any case consent to doe aboard his owne Ship: that was, in the middle of the second Watch, to goe downe secretly into the Well of the Ship, and with a great spike-gimlet, to boore three hoales, as neere the Keele as he could, and lay something against it, that the force of the Water entering, might make no great noyse, nor be discovered by boyling up. *Thomas Moore* at the hearing hereof being utterly dismayed, desired to know what cause there might be, to move him to sacke so good a Barke,
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of his owne, new, and strong, and that by his meanes, who had beene in two so rich and gainfull Voyages in her with himselfe heretofore: If his Brother, the Master, and the rest of the Company should know of such his fact, he thought verily they would kill him. But when our Captaine had imparted to him his causes, and had perswaded him with promise that it should not be knowne, till all of them should be glad of it: he undertooke it, and did it accordingly.

The next morning our Captaine tooke his Pinnace very early, purposing to goe a fishing (for that there is very great store in all the Coast) and falling a board the *Swanne*, calleth for his Brother to goe with him, who rising suddenly, answereth that he would follow presently, or if it would please him to stay a very little, he would attend him. Our Captaine perceiving the feat wrought, would not hasten him, but in rowing away, demanded of them, why their Barke was so deepe: as making no account of it: but by occasion of this demand, his Brother sent one downe to the Steward to know whether there were any water in the ship: or what other cause might be: The Steward hastily stepping downe at his usuall skuttle, was wet up to the waste, and shifting with more haste to come up againe as if the water had followed him, cryed out that the Ship was full of water. There was no need to hasten the Company, some to Pumpe, others to search for the Leake, which the Captaine of the Barke seeing they did on all hands very willingly, he followed his Brother, and certified him of the strange chance befall them that night; that whereas they had not Pumpr twice in six weekes before, now they had six foore water in hold: therefore he desired leave from attending him in fishing, to intend
the

the search and remedy of the leake: and when our Captaine with his Company profered to go to helpe them, he answered, they had men enough aboard, and prayed him to continue his fishing, that they might have some part of it for their dinner. Thus returning, he found his Company had taken great paines, but had freed the water very little: yet such was their love to the *Burke* (as our Captaine well knew) that they ceased not, but to the utmost of their strength, laboured all that they might till three in the afternoone, by which time, the Company perceiving, that though they had beene relieved by our Captaine himselfe and many of his Company, yet they were not able to free above a foot and a halfe of water, and could have no likelihood of finding the Leake, had now a lesse liking of her then before, and greater content to hear of some means for remedy: whereupon our Captain consulting with them what they thought best to be done: found that they had more desire to have all as he thought fit, then judgement to conceive any meanes of remedy. And therefore he propounded, that himselfe would goe into the Pinnace, till he could provide some handsome Frigate, and that his Brother should be Captaine in the Admirall, and the Master should also be there placed with him, instead of this: which seeing they could not save, he would have fired, that the Enemy might never recover her: but first all the Pinnaces should be brought aboard her, that every one might take out of her whatsoever they lacked or liked. This, though the company at the first marvelled at, yet presently it was put in execution and performed that night: our Captaine

Aug. 16. had his desire, and men enough for his Pinnaces.

The next morning, we resolved to seek out some fit place, in the sound of *Dorrienne*, where we might safely leave our ship at Anchor, not discoverable by the Enemy, who

who thereby might imagine us quite departed from the Coast, and we the meane time better follow our purposes with our Pinnaces; of which our Captaine would himselfe take two to *Rio Grande*, and the third leave with his Brother to seeke the *Symerons*.

Upon this resolution, we set saile presently for the said *Aug. 21.* Sound, which within five dayes we recovered, abstaining of purpose, from all such occasion as might hinder our determination, or bewray our being upon the Coast. As soone as we arrived, where our Captaine intended, and had chosen a fit and convenient road (out of all trade) for our purpose; we reposed our selves there for some fiftene dayes, keeping our selves close, that the bruit of our being upon the Coast might cease.

But in the meane time we were not idle: for besides such ordinary workes, as our Captaine every Moneth did usuallly inure us to, about the trimming and fitting of his Pinnaces, for their better sailing and rowing: he caused us to rid a large plot of ground, both of Trees and Brakes, and to build us Houses, sufficient for all our lodging, and one especially for all our publique meetings, wherein the *Negro* which fled to us before did us great service, as being well acquainted with the Countrey, and their meanes of Building. Our Archers made themselves Butts to shoot at, because we had many that delighted in that Exercise, and wanted not a Fletcher to keepe our Bowes and Arrowes in order. The rest of the Company, every one as he liked best, made his disport at Bowles, Quoits, Keiles, &c. For our Captaine allowed one halfe of their Company to passe their time thus, every other day interchangeably, the other halfe being enjoyned to the necessary workes, about our Ship and Pinnaces, and the providing of fresh Victuals, Fish, Fowle, Hogs, Deere, Conies, &c. whereof there is great

plenty. Here our Smiths set up their Forge, as they used, being furnished out of *England* with Anvill, Iron, Coales, and all manner of necessities, which stood us in great stead.

Septem. 5 At the end of these fiftene dayes, our Captaine leaving his Ship in his Brothers charge, to keepe all things in order, himselfe tooke with him, according to his former determination, two Pinnaces for *Rio Grand*; and passing Septem. 8 by *Carthagene*, but out of sight, when we were within two leagues of the River, we landed to the Westwards on the *Maine*, where we saw great store of Cattle. There we found some *Indians*, who asking us in friendly sort, in broken *Spanish*, what we would have? and understanding that we desired fresh Victuals in Traffique; they tooke such Cattle for us as we needed, with ease and so readily, as if they had a speciall commandment over them, whereas they would not abide us to come neere them: And this also they did willingly, because our Captaine (according to his custome) contented them for their paines, with such things as they account greatly of, in such sort that they promised we should have there of them at any time, what we would.

The same day we departed thence to *Rio Grand*, where we entred about three of the clocke in the after-noone. There are two entrings into this River, of which we entred the Westermost, called *Boca Chica*. The freshet of this River is so great, that vve being halfe a league from the mouth of it, filled fresh water for our Beverage.

From three a clocke till darke night we rowed up the streame; but the current was so strong downwards, that we got but two leagues all that time. We moored our Pinnaces to a tree that night; for that presently with the closing of the evening, there fell a monstrous shower of raine, vvith such strange and terrible claps of thunder and flashes,

flashes of lightning, as made us, not a little to marvell at, although our Captaine had been acquainted with such like in that Countrey, and told us that they continue seldom longer then three quarters of an houre. This storme was no sooner ceast, but it became very calme, and therewith there came such an innumerable multitude of a kind of flies of that Country called *Muskitos* (like our Gnats) which bite so spitefully, that we could not rest all that night, nor finde meanes to defend our selves from them, by reason of the heate of the Country: the best remedy we then found against them, was the juyce of Lymons.

At the breake of day we departed, rowing in the eddy, and haling up by the trees where the eddy failed, with great labour, by spels, without ceasing, each company their halfe houre-glasse, without meeting any, till about three a clock after noone, by which time we could get but five leagues a head. Then we espied a Canow with two *Indians* fishing in the River; but we spake not to them lest so we might be descryed: nor they to us, as taking us to be *Spanyards*. But within an houre after we espied certaine houses on the other side of the River, whose channell is twenty five fathome deep, and his bredth so great, that a man can scantly be discerned from side to side. Yet a *Spanyard* which kept those houses, had espied our Pinnaces, and thinking we had been his country-men, made a smoake; for a signall to turne that way, as being desirous to speake with us. After that, we espying this smoak, had made with it, and were halfe the River over, he wheaved us with his hat, and his long hanging sleeves to come a shoare: But as we drew neerer unto him, he discerned that we were not those he looked for, he took his heels, & fled from his houses, which we found to be five in number, all full of white Ruske, dried Bacon, that Country Cheefe (like *Holland* Cheefe in fashion, but farre more delicate

Septe. 9.

In taste, of which they send into *Spain* as speciall Presents) many sorts of sweet meats, and Conserve, with great store of sugar, being provided to serve the Fleet returning to *Spaine*.

With this store of victuals we loaded our Pinnaces, and by the shutting in of the day we were ready to depart; for that we hastned the rather, by reason of an intelligence given us by certaine *Indian* Women which we found in those houses: that the Frigates (these are ordinarily thirty, or upwards, which usually transport the Merchandise sent out of *Spaine* to *Carthagene*, from thence to these houses, and so in great Canoas up hence into *Nueva Reyno*, for which, the River running many hundred leagues within the land, serveth very fitly, and returne in exchange, the gold and treasure, silver, victuals and commodities, which that Kingdome yeeldeth abundantly:) were not yet returned from *Carthagene*, since the first alarm they tooke of our being there.

Sept. 10.

As we were going aboard our Pinnaces from these Store-houses, the *Indians* of a great Towne called *Villa del Rey*, some two miles distant from the waters side where we landed, were brought downe by the *Spaniards* into the bushes, and shot their arrowes; but we rowed downe the streame, with the current (for that the winde was against u) onely one league, and because it was night, anchored till the morning, when we rowed downe to the mouth of the River, where we unladed all our provisions, and clenfed our Pinnaces, according to our Captaines custome, and tooke it in againe, and the same day went to the Westward.

In this returne we descried a Ship, a Barke, and a Frigate, of which the Ship and Frigate went for *Carthagene*, but the Barke was bound to the Northwards, with the wind Easterly, so that we imagined she had some gold

gold or treasure going for *Spaine*: therefore we gave her chase, but taking her, and finding nothing of importance in her, understanding that she was bound for Sugar, and Hides, we let her goe, and having a good gale of winde, continued our former course to our Ship and Company.

In the way between *Carthagene* and *Tolou* we tooke Sept. 11. five or six Frigates, which were laden from *Tolou*, with live Hogs, Hens and Maiz, which we call *Gwynny Wheat*: of these having gotten what intelligence they could give, of their preparations for us, and diverse opinions of us, was dismissed all the men, onely staying two Frigates with us, because they were so well stored with good Victuals.

Within three dayes after we arrived at the place which our Captaine chose at first to leave his ship in which was called by our Company *Port-Plenty*, by reason we brought in thither continually all manner store of good Victuals which we tooke going that way by Sea, for the victualling of *Carthagene* and *Nombre de Dios*, as also the Fleets going and comming out of *Spaine*: so that if we had beene two thousand, yea three thousand persons, we might with our Pinnaces easily have provided them sufficient victual of Wine, Meale, Ruske, Cassavy, (a kinde of Bread made of a Root called *Rucca*, whose juyce is poyson, but the substance good and wholesome) dried Beefe, dried Fish, live Sheepe, live Hogs, aboundance of Hens, besides the infinite store of dainty fresh very easily to be taken every day. In somuch that he were forced to build foure severall Magazines or Store-houses, some renne, some twenty Leagues a sunder, some in Ilands, some in the Maine, providing our selves in diverse places, that though the Enemie should with force surprise any one, yet we might be sufficiently furnished, till we had made our Voyage as we did hope. In building of these, our Negroes helpe was very much, as ha-

ving a speciall skill, in the speedy erection of such houses.

This our store was such, as thereby we releev'd, not only our selves and the *Symerons*, while they were with us, but also two *French Ships* in extreame want. For in our absence Captaine *John Drake* having one of our Pinnares as was appointed, went in with the maine, and as he rowed a loofe the shoare, where he was directed by *Diego* the Negroe aforesaid, which willingly came unto us at *Nombre de dios*, he espyed certaine of the *Symerons*, with whom he dealt so effectually, that in conclusion he left two of our men with their Leader, and brought aboard two of theirs: agreeing that they should meet him againe the next Day, at a River mid way betwene the *Cabezas* and our Ships, which they named *Rio Diego*.

These two being very sensible men, chosen out by their Commander, did with all reverence and respect, declare unto our Captaine, that their Nation conceived great joy of his arrivall, because they knew him to be an enemy to the *Spaniards*, not only by his late being in *Nombre de dios*, but also by his former Voyages, and therefore were ready to assist and favour his enterprises against his and their Enemies to the uttermost: and to that end their Captaine and Company, did stay at this present neer the mouth of *Rio Diego*, to attend what answer and order should be given them: that they would have marched by land, even to this place, but that the way is very long, and more troublesome, by reason of many steepe Mountaines, deepe Rivers and thicke brakes: desiring therefore, that it might please our Captaine to take some order, as he thought best, with all convenient speed in this behalfe. Our Captaine considering the speech of these persons, and weighing it with his former intelligences had, not onely by Negroes but *Spaniards* also
whereof

whereof he was alwayes very carefull : as also conferring it with his Brothers informations of the great kindnesse that they shewed him, being lately with them : after he had heard the opinions of those of best service with him, what were fittest to be done presently ; resolved himselfe with his Brother and the two *Symerons*, in his two Pinnaces to goe toward this River, as he did the same evening ; giving order, that the Ship and the rest of his Fleet, should the next morning follow him, because there vvas a place of as great safety and sufficiency, vvhich his Brother had found out neer the River. The safety of it consisted, not onely in that vvhich is common all along that Coast from *Tolou* to *Nombre de Dios*, being above sixty leagues ; that it is a most goodly and plentifull Countrey, and yet Inhabired not with one *Spaniard*, or any for the *Spaniards* ; but especially in that it lyerh among a great many of goodly Ilands full of Trees, vvhether, though there be Channels, yet there are such Rocks and shoales, that no Man can enter by night, without great danger, nor by day without discovery ; whereas our Ship might lye hidden within the Trees.

The next day we arrived at this River appointed, where we found the *Symerons*, according to promise ; the rest of their number were a mile up in a Wood by the Rivers side. There, after vve had given them entertainment and received good testimonies of their joy and good will towards us, vve tooke two more of them into our Pinnaces, leaving our two men vwith the rest of theirs, to march by land to another River called *Rio Guana*, vwith intent there to meet vwith another Company of *Symerons*, vvhich were now in the Mountains. So vve departed that day from *Rio Diego* vwith our Pinnaces towards our Ship, as marvelling that she followed us not, as vvas appointed.

But two dayes after, vve found her in the place where vve

Sept. 14

Sept. 16

vve

we left her, but in farre other state, being much spoyled, and in great danger, by reason of a tempest she had in our abience.

Sept. 18. As soone as we could trim our Ship, being some two dayes, our Captain sent away one of his Pinnaces towards the bottome of the Bay, amongst the shoales and sandy Ilands, to sound out the Channell, for the bring in of our Ship neerer the Maine.

Sept. 19. The next day we followed, and were (with wary Pilage, directed safely into the best Channell, with much ado to recover the Road, among so many flats and shoales. It was neere about five leagues from the *Cativaas*, betwixt an Iland and the Maine, where we moored our Ship. The Iland was not above foure Cables length from the Maine, being in quantity some three Acres of ground, flat and very full of Trees and Bushes.

We were forced to spend the best part of three dayes, Sept. 22. after our departure from our *Port Plentie*, before we were quiet in the new-found Road, which we had but newly entred, when our two Men and the former Troope

Sept. 23. of *Simerons*, with twelve other whom they had met in the Mountaines, came in fight over against our Ship, on the Maine: whence we fet them all aboard, to their great comfort and our content: they rejoycing that they should have some fit opportunity, to wreake their wrongs on the *Spaniards*: we hoping that now our Voyage should be bettered.

At our first meeting, when our Captaine had moved them, to shew him the meanes which they had to furnish him with Gold and Silver; they answered plainly, that had they knowne Gold had been his desire, they could have satisfied him with store, which for the present they could not doe, because the Rivers, in which they had suncke great store, which they had taken from the

Spani-

Spaniards, rather to despise them then for love of Gold, were now so high, that they could not get it out of such depths for him, and because the *Spaniards* in these rainy Moneth doe not use to carry their Treasure by Land.

This answer, although it were somewhat unlooked for, yet nothing discontented us, but rather perswaded us farther of their honest and faithfull meaning towards us. Therefore our Captaine to entertaine these five Moneths, communded all our Ordnance and Artillery a shoare, with all our other Provisions; sending his Pinnaces to the Maine, to bring over great Trees, to make a Fort upon the same Iland, for the planting of all our Ordnance therein, and for our safeguard, if the Enemy in all this time should chance to come.

Our *Symerons* cut downe *Palmito* boughes and branches, and with wonderfull speed raised up two large Houses for all our Company. Our Fort was then made (by reason of the place) triangle-wise with maine Timber and Earth, of which the Trench yeelded us good store, so that we made it thirteen foot in height. Sept. 24.

But after we had continued upon this Iland fourteen Octob. 7. dayes, our Captain having determind, with three Pinnaces to goe for *Carthagene*, left his Brother *John Drake*, to govern these who remained behinde with the *Symerons*, to finish the Fort which he had begun: for which he appointed him to fetch Boords and Plancks, as many as his Pinnace would carry, from the Prize which we tooke at *Rio Grand*, and left at the *Cativaas*, where she drave a shore and wracked, in our absence; but now she might serve very commodiously to supply our uses, in making Plaformes for our Ordnance. Thus our Captaine and his Brother tooke their leave, the one to the Eastward, and the other to the *Cativaas*.

That night we came to an Ile, which hee called

F

Sparkite

sparkle Iland, because we found there great store of such a kinde a Bird in shape, but very delicate, of which we killed and rosted many, staying there till the next day mid-noone when we departed thence; and about foure a clocke recovered a big Iland in our way, where we staying all night, by reason that there was great store of Fish, and especially of a great kinde of Shel-fish of a foot long, we called them *whelkes*.

070. 9. The next morning we were cleere of these Ilands, and
070. 13. Shoales, and baled off into the Sea. About foure dayes after, neere the Ilands of Saint *Bernards*, we chased two
Oct. 14. Frigates a shore: and recovering one of the Ilands, made
15. our abode there some two dayes, to wash our Pinnaces and rake off the Fish.

070. 16. Thence we went towards *Tolou*, and that day landed neer the Town in a Garden, where we found certaine *Indians*, who delivered us their Bowes and Arrowes, and gathered for us such Fruit as the Garden did yeeld, being many sorts of dainty Fruits and Roots, still contenting them for that we received: our Captains principall intent in making this and other places by the way, not being for any other cause, but onely to learne true intelligences of the state of the Countrey and of the Fleets.

Hence we departed presently, and rowed towards *Charesha* the Iland of *Carthagene*, and entred in at *Bocha Chica*; and having the winde large, we sailed in towards the Citie, and let fall our Grappes betwixt the Iland and the Maine, right over against the goodly Garden Iland. In which our Captaine would not suffer us to land, notwithstanding our importunate desire, because he knew it might be dangerous; for that they are wont to send Souldiers thither, when they know any Men of Warre upon the Coast, which we found accordingly: for within three houres after, passing by the point of the Iland, we had a
volley

volley of an hundred shot from them, and yet there was but one of our men hurt.

This evening we departed to Sea, and the day following, being some two leagues off the Harbour, we tooke a Barke, and found that the Captaine and his wife with the better sort of the passengers had forsaken her, and were gone a shoare in their Gundelow: by occasion whereof we boarded without resistance, though they were very well provided, with Swords and Targers, and some small shot, besides foure Iron Bases. She was about fifty runne, having ten Marrines, five or six Negroes, great store of Sope and Sweet-meates, bound from Saint *Domingo* to *Carthagene*. This Captaine left behind him a filke Ancient with his Armes, as might be thought in hasty departing.

The next day we sent all the Company a shoare to seek their Masters, saving a young Negrito of three or foure yeeres old which we brought away, but kept the Barke, and in her, bore into the mouth of *Carthagene* Harbour, where we anchored.

That afternoone, certaine horse-men came downe to the point by the Wood side, and with the *Scrivano* forementioned came towards our Barke with a Flag of Truce, desiring of our Captaine safe conduct for his coming and going: the which being granted, he came aboard us, giving our Captaine great thanks for his manifold favours, &c. promising that night before day break to bring as much victuall as they would desire, what shift soever he made, or what danger soever he incurred of Law and punishment. But this fell out to be nothing but a device of the Governour forced upon the *Scrivano*, to delay time, til they might provide themselves of sufficient strength to entrap us; for which this fellow, by his smooth speech, was thought a fit meane. So by Sunne rising

when we perceived his words but words, we put to Sea to the Westward of the Island, some three Leagues off, where we lay at Hull the rest of all that day and night.

Octo. 20. The next day in the afternoone, there came out of *Carthagene*, two Frigates bound for Saint *Domingo*, the one of fifty, the other of twelve Tunne, having nothing in them but Ballast: we took them within a League of the Towne, and came to Anchor with them, within Saker shot of the East Bulwarke: there were in those Frigates some twelve or thirteene common Marriners, which intreated to be set a shoare: to them our Captaine gave the great Frigates Gun delow, and dismissed them.

Octo. 21. The next morning, when they came downe to the Wester point vvith a Flag of Truce, our Captain manned one of his Pinnaces and rowed a shoare: vvhen vve were vvithin a Cables length of the shoare, the *Spaniards* fled, hiding themselves in the Woods, as being affraid of our Ordnance; but indeed to draw us on to Land confidently, and to presume of our strength. Our Captaine commanding the Grapnell to be cast out of the sterne, veered the Pinnace a shoare, and as soone as she touched the Sand, he alone leapt a shoare in their sight, to declare that he durst set his foot a land, but stayed not among them; to let them knowv, that though he had not sufficient forces to conquer them, yet he had sufficient judgement to take heed of them. And therefore perceiving their intent as soone as our Captaine vvas aboard, vve haled off upon our Grapner and rid a vvhile. They presently came forth upon the Sand, and sent a youth, as vvith a messige from the Governour, to knowv vvhat our intent vvas to stay thus upon the Coast? Our Captaine answered, he meant to traffique vvith them: for he had Tin, Pewter, Cloth, and other Merchandise that they needed. The youth svvam backe againe vvith this answer; and

and was presently returned, with another message: that, the King had forbidden to traffique with any forraigne Nation for any Commodities, except Powder and Shot, of which if we had any store, they would be his Merchants; he answered, that he was come from his Country, to exchange his Commodities for Gold and Silver, and is not purposed to returne without his errand. They are like (in his opinion) to have little rest, if that by faire meanes they would not traffique with him. He gave this Messenger a faire Shirt for a reward, and so returned him: who rowled his Shirt about his head and swamme very speedily.

We heard no answer all that day, and therefore toward night we went aboard our Frigates and reposed our selves, setting and keeping very orderly all that night our watch, With great and small shot.

The next morning the winde which had beene West-erly in the evening, altered to the Eastward. About the dawning of the day, wee espied two Sayles turning towards us; whereupon our Captaine weighed with his Pinnaces, leaving the two Frigates unmand. But when we were come some what nigh them, the winde calmed, and we were faine to row towards them, till that approaching very nigh we saw many heads peering over board. For, as we perceived, these two Frigates were mand and set forth out of *Carthagene*, to fight with us: and at least to impeach or busie us, whiles by some meanes or other they might recover the Frigates from us: but our Captaine prevented both their drifts. For commanding *John Oxnam* to stay with the one Pinnace, to entertaine these two men of warre, himselfe in the other made such speed, that he gate to his Frigates which he had left at Anchor, and caused the *Spaniards* (who in the meane time had gotten aboard in a small Canow, thinking to have

towed them within the danger of their shot) to make greater haile thence, then they did thither. For he found that in shifting thence, some of them were faine to swim a land (the Canow not being able to receive them) and had left their apparrell, some their Rapiers and Targets, some their Flaskes and Callivers behind them, although they were towing away of one of them: therefore considering that we could not man them, we suncke the one, burnt the other, giving them to understand by this, that we perceived their secret practises.

Octo. 22. This being done, he returned to *John Oxnam*, who all this while lay by the men of warre without proffering of fight. And as soone as our Captaine was come up to these Frigates, the wind blew much from the Sea, so that we being betwixt the shoare and them, were in a manner forced to beare roome into the Harbour before them, to the great joy of the *Spaniards* who beheld it, in supposing, that we would still have fled before them. But as-soone as we were in the Harbour, and felt smooth water, our Pinnaces (as we were assured of) getting the winde, we fought with them upon the advantage, so that after a few shot exchanged, and a storme rising, they were contented to presse no neerer. Therefore as they let fall their Anchors, we presently let drop our Grapners in the winde of them, which the *Spanish* Souldiers seeing, considering the disadvantage of the winde, the likelihood of the storme to continue, and small hope of doing any good, they were glad to retire themselves to the Towne. But by reason of the foule and tempestuous weather, we rode there foure dayes, feeling great cold, by reason we had such sore raines with Westerly winde, and so little succour in our Pinnaces.

Octo. 27. The fift day after, there came in a Frigate from the sea, which seeing us make towards her, ranne her selfe a shoare

shoare, unhangging her Rudder and taking away her Sayles, that she might not easily be carried away. But when we were come up to her, we perceived about a hundred Horse and Foot, with their Furniture, came downe to the point of the Maine, where we interchanged some shot with them. One of our great shot past so neere a brave Cavalier of theirs, that thereby they were occasioned to advise themselves, and to retreat into the Woods, where they might sufficiently defend and rescue the Frigate from us, and annoy us also, if we stayed long about her. Therefore we concluded to goe to Sea againe, putting forth through *Boca chica*, with intent to take downe our Masts, upon hope of faire weather, and to ride under the Rockes called *Las Serenas*, which are two leagves off at Sea, as we had usually done aforetime, so that they could not discerne us from the Rocks. But there the Sea was so mightily growne, that we were forced to take the Harbour againe: where we remained six dayes, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* grieved greatly at our aboard there so long, put an other device in practise to indanger us. Nove. 2.

For they sent forth a great Shallop, a fine Gundeloe, and a great Canow, with certaine *Spaniards* with shot, and many *Indians* with povsoned Arrowes, as it seemed, with intent to begin some fight, and then to flye. For as soone as we rowed towards them and enterchanged shot, they presently retyred and went a shoare into the Woods, where an Ambush of some fixty shot were laid for us; besides two Pinnaces and a Frigate warping towards us, which were Mand as the rest. They attempted us very boldly, being assisted by those others, which from our of the Wood had gotten aboard the Gundeloe and Canow, and seeing us bearing from them (which we did in respect of the Ambuscado) they

they encouraged themselves and assured their fellowes of the day. But our Captaine weighing this their attempt, and being out of danger of their shot from the Land, commanding his other Pinnace to be brought a head of him, and to let fall their Grapners each a head the others, environed both the Pinnaces with Bonnets, as for a close fight, and then wheaved them aboard them.

They kept themselves upon their Oares at Calliver shot distance, spending Powder apace, as we did some two or three houres. We had one of our Men onely wounded in that Fight; what they had is unknowne to us, but we saw their Pinnaces shot thorow in divers places, and the Powder of one of them tooke on fire; whereupon we waighed, intending to beare roome, to over-runne them; which they perceiving, and thinking that we would have boorded them, rowed away amaine to the defence vvhich they had in the Wood; the rather, because they vvere disappointed of their helpe, that they expected from the Frigate vvhich vvas vvarping towards us, but by reason of the much Winde that blew, could not come to offend us, or succour them.

Thus seeing that vve vvere still molested, and no hope remaining of any Purchase to be had in this place any longer, because vve vvere now so notably made known in those parts, and because our Victuals grev scant, as soone as the Weather vxaxed somewhat better (the Winde continuing alwayes Westerly, so that vve could not returne to our Ships) our Captain thought best to goe to the Eastward, towards *Rio grand*, along the Coast, vvhich vve had beene before, and found great store of Victuals.

Nov. 3.
Nov. 5. But vvhether after two dayes sayling, vve vvere arrived at the Villages of store, vvhich before vve had furnished our selves vvith abundance of Hens, Sheepe, Calves, Hogges, &c. Now vve found bare nothing, not so much as any people

people left, for, that they by the *Spaniards* commandment were fled to the Mountaines, and had driven away all their Cattle, that we might not be releev'd by them. Herewith being very sorry, because much of our Victuall in our Pinnaces was spoyled, by the foule weather at Sea, and raines in Harbour; a Frigate being descried at Sea revived us, and put us in some hope for the time, that in her we should finde sufficient; and thereupon it may easily be guesst, how much we laboured to recover her; but when we had boarded her, and understood, that she had neither Meat nor Money, but that she was bound for *Rio Grand*, to take in Provision upon Bills, our great hope converted into griefe:

We endured with our allowance seven or eight dayes more, proceeding to the Eastwards, and bearing roome for *Santa Martha*, upon hope to finde some Shipping in the Read, or Limpets on the Rockes, or succour against the Storme in that good Harbour. Being arrived, and seeing no Shipping, we anchored under the Wester point, where is high land, and, as we thought, free in safety from the Towne, which is in the bottome of the Bay, not intending to land there, because we knew that it was fortified, and that they had intelligence of us. But the *Spaniards* knowing us to be Men of Warre, and mistaking that we should shroud under their Rockes, without their leave, had conveyed some thirty or forty shot among the Cliffes, which annoyed us so spitefully, and so unrevengedly (for that they lay hidden behinde the Rockes, but we lay open to them) that we were soone weary of our Harbour, and enforced, for all the Storme without, and want within, to put to Sea; which though these Enemies of ours were well contented withall, yet for a farewell, as we came open of the Towne, they sent us a Culverin shot, which made a neere escape; for

it fell between our Pinnaces, as we were upon conference of what was best to be done. The Company advised, that if it pleased him, they might put themselves a land some place to the East-ward to get Victuals, and rather hope for courtesie of the Countrey People, then continue at Sea, in so long cold, and great a storme in so le ke a Pinnace. But our Captaine would in no wise like of that advice, he thought it better to beare up towards *Rio de Haca* or *Corizao*, with hope there to have plenty without great resistance, because he knew, either the Ilands were not very populous, or else it were very likely that there would be found Ships of Victuall in a readinesse.

The Company of the other Pinnace answered, that they would willingly follow him thorow the World, but in this they could not see, how, either their Pinnace should live in that Sea, without being eaten up in that storme, or they themselves able to endure so long time, with so slender Provision as they had, viz. onely one Gammon of Bacon and thirty pound of Bisket for eigh-teene Men. Our Captaine replied, that they were better provided then himselfe was, who had but one Gammon of Bacon, and forty pound of Bisket for his twenty foure Men; and therefore He doubted not but they would take such part as He did, and willingly depend upon Gods Almighty Providence, which never faileth them that trust in him. With that he hoysed his fore-saile, and set his course for *Corizao*; which the rest perceiving, with sorrowfull hearts in respect of the weake Pinnace, yer desirous to follow their Captain, consented to take the same course.

We had not sailed past three leagues, but we had espied a sayle plying to the Westward with her two courses, to our great joy, who vowed together, that vve would have

have her, or else it should cost us deare. Bearing with her we found her to be a *Spanish* Ship of above ninety Tun, vvhich being vvhewed a maine by us, despised our Summons, and shot off her Ordnance at us.

The Sea went very high, so that it vvas not for us, to attempt to boord her, and therefore we made fit small saile to attend upon her, and keepe her company to her small content, till fairer vveather might lay the Sea. We spent not past two houres in our attendance, till it pleased God, after a great shower to send us a reasonable calme, so that vve might use our Peeces, and approach her at pleasure, in such sort, that in short time vve had taken her, finding her laden vvvith Victuall well powdred and dried, vvhich at that present vve received, as sent us of Gods great mercy.

After all things vvere set in order, and that the winde increased toward night, vve plyed off and on till day, at vvhich time our Captaine sent in *Edward Hixom*, who had then charge of his Pinnace, to search out some Harbour Nove. 13. along the Coast: vvhich having found out a little one, some ten or twelve leagues to the East of *Santa Martha*, vvhich in sounding he had good ground and sufficient vvater, presently returned, & our Captain brought in his new Prize. Then by promising liberty, and all their apparrell to the *Spaniards* which we had taken, if they vwould bring us to Water and fresh Victuals, the rather by their meanes, vve obtained of the Inhabitants *Indians*, vvhich they had vvhich vvas plentiful. These *Indians* vvere clothed and governed by a *Spaniard* vvhich dwelt in the next Town, not past a league off: vve staid there all day, vvatering and vvooding, and providing things necessary, by giving content and satisfaction to the *Indians*. But towards night our Captaine called all of us aboard, (only leaving the *Spaniards* lately taken in the Prize ashore, according to our

promise made them, to their great content, who acknowledged that our Captaine did them a farre greater favour, in setting them freely at liberty, then he had done them displeasure in taking their Ship) and so set saile.

The sicknesse which had begun to kindle amongst us two or three dayes before, did this day shew it selfe in *Charles Gluk*, one of our Quarter-masters, a very tall man, and a right good Mariner, taken away to the great grieve both of Captaine and Company. What the cause of this malady was, we knew not of certainty, we imputed it to the cold which our men had taken, lying without succour in the Pinnaces. But howsoever it was, thus it pleased God to visit us, and yet in favour to restore unto health, all the rest of our Company, that were touched with this disease, which were not a few.

Nov. 15. The next morning being faire weather, though the winde continued contrary, our Captaine commanded the *Minion* his lesser Pinnace, to hasten away before him towards his Ships at *Fort Diego* within the *Cabezas* to carry newes of his comming, and to put all things in a readinesse for our Land journey, if they heare any thing of the Fleets arrivall by the *Symerons*, giving the *Minion* charge if they wanted Wine, to take *Saint Bernards* in their way, and there take in some such portion as they thought good, of the Wines which we had there hidden in the sand.

Nov. 22. We plyed to windwards, as neere as we could, so that within a seven night after the *Minion* departed from us, we came to *Saint Bernards*, where vve staid many houres, finding but twelve Botijos of Wine, of all the store we left, which had escaped the curious search of the Enemy (who had beene there) for that they were deepe in the ground.

Within

Within foure or five dayes after we came to our Ship, where we found all other things in good order, but received very heaue newes of the death of *John Drake* our Captains Brother, and another young man called *Richard Allen* which were both flaine at one time, as they attempted the boording of a Frigate within two dayes after our departing from them. N. 27.

The manner of it (a we learned by examination of the Company) vvas this; when they saw this Frigate at Sea (as they were going towards their Fort with Plancks to make the Platformes) the Company were very importunate on him, to give chase and set upon this Frigate, which they deemed had beene a fit booty for them. But he told them, that they wanted weapons to assaile, they knew not how the Frigate was provided, they had their boat loaden with plancks, to finish that his Broter had commanded. But when this would not satisfie them, but that still they urged him with vvords and supposals: If you will needs said he adventure, it shall never be said that I will be hindermost, neither shall you report to my Brother, that you lost your Voyage by any cowardise you found in me.

Thereupon every man shifted as they might for the time: and heaving their planks over board, tooke them such poore vvweapons as they had: viz. a broken pointed Rapier, one old Visgee and a rusty Caliver *John Drake* tooke the Rapier, and made a Gantlet of his Pillow, *Richard Allen* the Visgee, both standing in the head of the Pinnace, called the *Eon*, *Robert* tooke the Caliver and so boarded. But they found the Frigate armed round about with a close fight of Hides, full of Pikes and Calivers, which vvwere discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the Fore ship, *John Drake* in the belly, and *Richard Allen* in the head. But

notwithstanding their wounds, they with Oares shifted off the Pinnace, got cleare of the Frigate, and with all haste recovered their Ship, where vvithin an houre after this young man of great hope, ended his dayes, greatly lamented of all the Company.

Jan. 3.

Thus having moored our Ships fast, our Captaine resolved to keepe himselfe close, without being descried, untill he might heare of the comming of the *Spanish* Fleet, and therefore set no more to Sea, but supplied his wants, both for his owne Company and the *Symerons*, out of his aforesaid Magazine, besides dayly out of the woods, with wild Hogges, Pheasants and Guanas, continuing in health (God be praised) all the meane time, which was a Moneth at least, till at length about the beginning of *January*, halfe a score of our Company fell downe sicke altogether, and the most of them died within two or three dayes: so long that we had thirty at a time sicke of the *Calenture*, which attached our men, either by reason of the sudden change from cold to heat, or by reason of brakish water which had beene taken in by one Pinnace through the sloth of their men in the mouth of the River, not rowing further in where the water was good.

Among the rest, *Joseph Drake* another of his Brethren died in our Captains Armes, of the same disease; of which that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied, to the reliefe of others, by our Captaines appointment he was ript open by the Surgeon, who found, his liver swoln, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all faire. This was the first and last experiment that our Captaine, made of Anatomy in this Voyage.

The Surgeon that cut him up, over lived him not past foure dayes, although he were not toucht with that sicknesse

sicknesse, of which he had been recovered above a moneth before; but onely of an over-bold practise which he would needs make upon himselfe, by receiving an over-strong Purgation of his owne device: after which taken, he never spake, nor his Boy recovered the health which he lost by tasting it, till he saw *England*.

The *Symerons*, who, as is before said, had beene entertained by our Captaine in *September* last, and usually repaired to our Ship, during all the time of our absence; ranged the Country up and downe, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and us, to learne what they might for us; whereof they gave our Captaine advertisement from time to time, as now particularly, certaine of them let him understand, that the Fleet was certainly arrived at *Nombre de Dios*.

Therefore he sent the *Lyon*, to the seamost Iland of the *Cativaas*, to descry the truth of the report: by reason it must needs be, that if the Fleet were in *Nombre de Dios*, all the Frigates of the Countrey would repaire thitherwards with Victuall. Iana. 30.

The *Lyon* within few dayes descried that she was sent for, espying a Frigate which she presently boorded and tooke, laden with *Maiz*, Hens, and Pompions from *Tolou*, who assured us of the whole truth, of the arrivall of the Fleet: in this Frigate were taken one Woman and twelve Men, of whom one was the *Scrivano* of *Tolou*. These we used very courteously, keeping them diligently guarded from the deadly hatred of the *Symerons*, who sought daily by all meanes they could to get them of our Captaine, that they might cut their throats, to revenge their wrongs and injuries, which the *Spanish* Nation had done them: but our Captaine perswaded them not to touch them, or give them ill countenance, while they were in his charge; and
tooke

ooke order for their safety, not onely in his presence, but also in his absence. For when he had prepared to take his journey for *Panama* by land, he gave *Ellis Hixom* charge of his owne Ship and Company, and especially of those *Spaniards* whom he had put into the great Prize, which was haled a shoare to the Iland, (which we termed slaughter Iland, because so many of our Men dyed there) and used as a Store-house for our selves, and a Prison for our Enemies.

Febr. 3. All things thus ordered, our Captaine conferring with his Company and the Chieft of the *Symerons*, what Provisions were to be prepared for this great and long journey; what kinde of Weapons, what store of Victuals, and what manner of Apparell; was especially advised, to carry as great store of Shooes as possibly he might, by reason of so many Rivers, with stones and gravell as they were to passe; which accordingly providing, prepared his Company for that journey, entring it upon Shrove-tuesday. At what time there had dyed twenty eight of our Men, and a few whole Men were left aboard with *Ellis Hixom*, to keepe the Ship and tend the Sicke, and guard the Prisoners.

At his departure, our Captain gave this Master straight charge, in any case not to trust any Messenger, that should come in his name with any Tokens, unlesse he brought his hand writing; which he knew could not be counterfeited by the *Symerons* or *Spaniards*.

We were in all forty eight, of which eightene onely were *English*, the rest were *Symerons*, which besides their Armes, bare every one of them a great quantity of Victuall and Provision, supplying our want of Carriages in so long a March, so that we were not troubled with any thing but our Furniture. And because they could not carry enough to suffize us altogether, therefore, as they promised before

before, so by the way with their Arrowes, they provided for us competent store from time to time.

They have every one of them two sorts of Arrowes, the one to defend himselfe and offend the Enemy, the other to kill his Victuals. These for fight are somewhat like the Scottish Arrow, onely somewhat longer, and headed with Iron, Wood or Fish-bones. But the Arrows for Provision are of three sorts; the first serveth to kill any great Beast neere hand, as Oxe, Stag, or wilde Boare; this hath a head of Iron of a pound and a halfe weight, shaped in forme like the head of a Javelin or Boare-spear, as sharpe as any Knife; making so large and deep a wound, as can hardly be beleev'd of him that hath not seene it. The second serveth for lesser Beasts, and hath a head of three quarters of a pound; this he most usually shooteth. The third serveth for all manner of Birds; it hath a head of an ounce weight. And these heads, though they be of Iron onely, yet are they so cunningly tempered, that they will continue a very good edge a long time; and though they be turned sometimes, yet they will never or seldome breake. The necessity in which they stand hereof continually, causeth them to have Iron in farre greater account then Gold; and no Man among them is of greater estimation, then he that can most perfectly give this temper unto it.

Every day we were marching by Sun-rising, we continued till ten in the fore-noone, then resting (ever neere some River) till past twelve; we Marched till foure, and then by some Rivers side, we reposed our selves in such Houses, as either we found prepared heretofore by them, when they travelled thorow these Woods, or they daily built very readily for us, in this manner.

As soone as we came to the place where we intended to lodge, the *Symerons* presently laying downe their
H burlens,

burthens, fell to cutting of Forkes or Posts, and Poles or Rafter, and Palmito boughes, or Plantaine leaves, and with great speed set up, to the number of six Houses. For every of which, they first fastned deepe into the ground three or foure great Posts with forkes; upon them they layd one Transome, which was commonly about twenty foot, and made the sides in the manner of the roofes of our Countrey Houses, thatching it close with those aforesayd Leaves, which keepe our water a long time; observing alwayes that in the lower ground, where greater heat was, they left some three or foure foot open unthacht below, and made the Houses, or rather Roofes, so many foot the higher. But in the Hills, where the Ayre was more piercing, and the nights colder, they made our Roomes alwayes lower, and thatched them close to the ground, leaving onely one Doore to enter at, and a lover-hole for a vent, in the midst of the roose. In every of these they made foure severall Lodgings, and three Fires, one in the midst, and one at each end of every House; so that the Roome was most temperately warme, and nothing annoyed with Smoake, partly by reason of the nature of the Wood, which they use to burne, yeelding very little Smoake, partly by reason of their artificiall making of it; as firing the Wood cut in length like our Billets, at the ends, and joyning them together so close, that though no flame or fire did appeare, yet the heat continued without intermission.

Neere many of the Rivers where we stayed or lodged, we found sundry sorts of Fruits, which we might use with great pleasure and safety temperately, *Mammes*, *Guyas*, *Palmitos*, *Pinos*, *Oranges*, *Lemons*, and divers other; from eating of which they dissuaded us in any case, unlesse we eat very few of them, and those first dry roasted, as *Plantans*, *Potatos*, and such like.

In journeying, as oft as by chance they found any wilde Swine, of which those Hill or Valleys have store, they would ordinarily, fix at a time, deliver their burthens to the rest of their fellowes, and pursue, kill, and bring away after us, as much as they could carry, and time permitted. One day as we travelled, the Symerons found an Otter, and prepared it to be drest: our Captaine marvelling at it, *Pedro* (our chiefe Symeron) asked him, *Are you a man of warre, and in want, and yet doubt whether this be meat that hath blood?* Herewithall our Captaine rebuked him secretly, that he had so slightly considered of it before.

The third day of our journey, they brought us to a Towne of their owne, seated neer a faire River, on the side of a Hill, environed with a dike of eight foot broad, and a thicke mud wall of ten foot high, sufficient to stop a sudden surprizer. It had one long and broad street, lying East and West, and two other crosse streets of lesse bredth and length: there were in it some five or six and fifty households, which were kept so cleane and sweeter, that not only the houses, but the very streets were very pleasant to behold. In this Towne we saw they lived very civilly and cleanelly: for as soone as we came thither, they washed themselves in the River, and changed their appirell, which was very fine and fitly made (as also their Women doe weare) somewhat after the *Spanish* fashion, though nothing so costly. This Towne is distant thirty five leagues from *Nombre de dios*, and forty five from *Panamah*. It is plentifully stored with many sorts of Beasts and Fowle, with plenty of Maiz and sundry Fruits.

Touching their affection in Religion, they have no kinde of Priests, only they held the Crosse in great reputation: but at our Captaines perswasion, they were contented to leave their Crosse, and to learne the Lord

prayer, and to be instructed in some measure concerning Gods true worship. They keepe a continuall Watch in foure parts, three miles off their Towne, to prevent the mischiefes which the *Spaniards* intend against them, by the conducting of some of their owne Coats, which having beene taken by the *Spanyards*, have beene enforced thereunto: wherein, as we learned somerimes the *Spaniards* have prevailed over them, especially when they lived lesse carefull; but since they against the *Spaniards*, whom they kill like Beasts, as often as they take them in Woods, having aforehand understood of their comming.

Febr. 7.

We stayed with them that night, and the next day till noone: during which time they related unto us diverse very strange accidents, that had fallen out betweene them and the *Spaniards*, namely one: A gallant Gentleman enrerrained by the Governours of the Country, undertooke the yeare last past, with a hundred an fifty Souldiers, to put this Towne to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, being conducted to it by one of them, that had beene taken prisoner, and won by grear gifts: he surprised it halfe an houre before day, by which occasion most of the men escaped, but many of their women and children were slaughtered, or taken: but the same morning by Sun rising, after that their Guide was slaine, in following an other mans wife; and that the *Symerons* had assembled themselves in their strength, they behaved themselves in such sort, and drave the *Spaniards* to such extremity, that what with the disadvantage of the Woods, having lost their Guide, and thereby their way, what with famine and want, there escaped not past thirty of them, to returne answer to those which sent them.

Their King dwelt in a City within sixteene Leagues Southeast of *Panama*, which is able to make one thousand seven hundred fighting men.

They

They all intreated our Captaine very earnestly, to make his abode with them some two or three dayes, promising that by that time they would double his strength if he thought good. But he thanking them for their offer, told them, that he could stay no longer, it was more then time to prosecute his purposed Voyage: as for strength, he would wish no more then he had, although he might have presenly twenty times as much: which they tooke as proceeding not onely from kindnesse, but also from magnanimity, and therefore, they marched forth that afternoon with great good will.

This was the order of our march: foure of those *Symerons* that best knew the wayes, went about a mile distance before us, breaking boughes as they went, to be a direction to those that followed: but with great silence, which they required us all to keepe. Then twelve of them were as it were our Vantguard, and other twelve out Reereward: we with their two Captaines in the midst.

All the Way was thorow Woods very coole and pleasant, by reason of those goodly and high Trees, that grow there so thicke, that it is cooler travelling there under them in that hot Region, then it is in the most parts of *England* in the Summer time. This gave a speciall encouragement unto us all, that we understood there was a great Tree about the midway, from which we might at once discern the North Sea from whence we came, and the South Sea whether we were going.

The fourth day following we came to the height of the desired Hill, (a very high Hill, lying East and West, like a ridge betweene the two Seas) about tenne of the clocke: where the chiefe of these *Symerons* tooke our Captaine by the hand, and prayed him to follow him,

Febr. 11.

if he was desirous to see at once the two Seas: which he had so long longed for.

Here was that goodly and great high Tree, in which they had cut and made diverse steps, to ascend up neere unto the top, where they had made a convenient Bower, wherein tenne or twelve men might easily sit: and from thence we might without any difficulty plainly see, *th' Atlanticke* Ocean whence now we came, & the South *Atlanticke* so much desired: South and North of this Tree, they had felled certaine Trees, that the prospect might be the clearer: and neere about the Tree there were diverse strong houses, that had beene built long before, as well by other *Symerons* as by these, which usually passe that way, as being inhabited in diverse places in those vvasse Countries.

After our Captaine had ascended to this Bower, with the chiefe *Symeron*, and having as it pleased God, at that time, by reason of the brize, a very faire day, had seene that Sea of which he had heard such golden reports: he besought Almighty God of his goodnesse, to give him life and leave to Saile once in an *English* Ship in that Sea: and then calling up al the rest of our men, acquainted *Iohn Oxnam* especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happinesse: who understanding it, presently protested, that unlesse our Captaine did beat him from his Company, he would follow him by Gods grace.

Febr. 13. Thus all thoroughly satisfied with the sight of the Seas, descended, and after our repast, continued our ordinary march, through Woods, yet two dayes more as before, without any great variety. But when we came to march in a Champion Country, where grasse growveth, not onely in great length as the knotgrasse growveth in many places, but

but to such height, that the Inhabitants are faine to burne it thrice in the year, that it may be able to feed their Cattle, of which they have thousands. For it is a kinde of Grasse with a stalke, as big as a great wheaten reed, which hath a blade issuing from the top of it, on which, though the Cattle feed, yet it groweth every day higher, untill the top be too high for an Oxe to reach. Then the Inhabitants are wont to put fire to it, for the space of five or six miles together, which notwithstanding after it is thus burnt, within three dayes springeth up fresh like greene Corne. Such is the great fruitfulnessse of the soyle, by reason of the evennessse of the day and night, and the rich Dewes which fall every morning.

In these three last dayes march in the Champion, as we past over the Hills, we might see *Panama* five or six times a day, and the last day we saw the Ships riding in the road. Febr. 14

But after that we were come within a dayes journey of *Panama*, our Captaine understanding by the *Symerons*, that the Dames of *Panama* are wont to send forth Hunters and Fowlers, for takiug of sundry dainty Fowle, which the Land yeeldeth, by whom if we Marched not very heedfully, we might be descryed; caused all his Company to March out of all ordinary way, and that with as great heed, silence and secrecy, as possibly they might, to the Grove, which was agreed on foure dayes before; lying within a league of *Panama*, where we might lye safely undiscovered near the High-way, that leadeth from thence to *Nom-bre de Dios*.

Thence we sent a chosen *Symeron*, one that had served a Master in *Panamah* before time, in such Apparell as the *Negroes* of *Panama* doe use to Warre, to be our Espiall, to goe into the Towne, to learne the certaine night, and time of the night, when the Carriers
laded

laded the Treasure from the Kings Treasure-house to *Nombre de Dios*.

For they are wont to take their journey from *Panama* to *Venta Cruz*, which is six leagues, ever by night, because the Countrey is all Champion, and consequently by day very hot: but from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*, as oft as they travell by Land, with their Treasure, they travell alwayes by day and not by night, because all that way is full of Woods, and therefore very fresh and coole; unlesse the *Symerons* happily encounter them, and make them sweat with feare, as sometimes they have done; whereupon they are glad to guard their *Recoes* with Souldiers, as they passe that way.

This last day our Captain did behold and view, the most of all that faire City, discerning the large Street which lyeth directly from the Sea into the Land, South and North. By three of the clocke we came into this Grove, passing (for the more secrecy) alongst a certaine River, which at that time was almost dried up.

Having disposed of our selves in the Grove, we dispatched our Spye an houre before night, so that by the closing in of the evening, he might be in the City; as he was: whence presently he returned unto us, that which very happily he understood by Companions of his; That the Teasurer of *Lima*, intending to passe into *Spaine* in the first *advise* (which was a Ship of three hundred and fifty Tunne, a very good Sayler) was ready that night, to take his journey towards *Nombre de Dios*, with his Daughter and Family; having fourteene Moyles in company, of which, eight was laden with Gold, & one with Jewels. And farther, that there were two other *Recoes*, of fifty Moyles in each, laden with Victuals for the most part, with some little quantity of Silver, to come forth that night after the
other

other. There are twenty eight of these *Recoes*, the greatest of them is of seventy Moyles, the lesse of fifty, unlesse some particular Man hyre for himself, ten, twenty or thirty, as he hath need.

Upon this notice, we forthwith Marched foure leagues, till we came within two leagues of *Venta Cruz*; in which March, two of our *Symerons* which were sent before, by scent of his Match, found and brought a *Spaniard*, whom they had found a sleepe by the way, by scent of the said Match, and drawing neere thereby, heard him taking his breath as he slept; and being but one, they fell upon him, stopt his mouth from crying, put out his Match, and bound him so, that they well neare strangled him by that time he was brought unto us. By examining him, we found all that to be true, which our Spye had reported to us, and that he was a Souldier entertained with others by the Treasurer, for the guard and conduct of this Treasure, from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*.

This Souldier having learned who our Captaine was, tooke courage, and was bold to make two requests unto him; the one, that he would command his *Symerons*, which hated the *Spaniards* (especially the Souldiers) extreamly, to spare his life, which he doubted not but they would doe at his charge: the other was, that seeing he was a Souldier, and assured him, that they should have that night, more Gold, besides Jewels and Pearles of great price, then all they could carry (if not, then he was to be dealt with how they would) but if they all found it so, then it might please our Captaine to give unto him, as much as it might suffice for him and his Mistresse to live upon, as he had heard our Captaine had done to divers others: for which he would make his name so famous, as any of them, which had received like favour.

Being at the place appointed, our Captaine with halfe of his men, lay on one side of the way, about fitty paces off in the long grasse: *John Oxnam* with the Captaine of the *Symerons*, and the other halfe, lay on the other side of the way, at the like distance: but so farre behind, that as occasion served, the former Company might take the foremost Moyles by the heads, and the other the hindmost, because the Moyles tyed together, are alwayes driven one after another; and especially that if we should have need to use our weapons that night, we might be sure not to endamage our fellows. We had not laine thus in ambush much above an houre, but we heard the *Recoes* comming from the City to *Venta Cruz*, and from *Venta Cruz* to the City, vvhich hath a very common and great trade, vvhhen the Fleetes are there: vve heard them, by reason they delight much to have deepe sounding Bels, which in a still night are heard very far off.

Now though there vvere as great charge given as might be, that none of our men should shew or stirre themselves: but let all that came from *Venta Cruz* to passe quietly: yea their *Recoes* also, because vve knew that they brought nothing but Merchandise from thence: yet one of our men called *Robert Pike*, having drunken too much *Aqua vitæ* vvithout vvater, forgot himselfe, and entising a *Symeron* forth vvith him, vvvas gone hard to the way, vvith intent to have shewne his forwardnesse on the foremost Moyles. And vvhen a Cavalier from *Venta Cruz* vvell mounted, vvith his Page runnning at his stirrop, past by unadvisedly he rose up to see vvhat he vvvas; but the *Symeron* of better discretion puld him dovvnne, and lay upon him, that he might not discover them any more. Yet by this the Gentleman had taken notice by
seeing

seeing one all in white: for that we had all put our shirts over our other apparrell, that we might be sure to know our owne men in the pell mell in the night. By meanes of this sight, the Cavalier putting spurs to his horse, rode a false Gallop, as desirous not only himselfe to be free of this doubt; which he imagined, but also to give advertisement to others that they might avoid it.

Our Captaine who had heard and observed (by reason of the hardnesse of the ground and stilnesse of the night) the change of this Gentlemans trot to a gallop, suspected that he was discovered, but could not imagine by whose fault, neither did the time give him leasure to search. And therefore considering that it might be, by reason of the danger of the place, well knowne to ordinary Travellers: we lay still in expectation of the Treasurers comming, who was by this time within halfe a league, and had come forwards to us, but that this Horseman meeting him, and (as we afterwards learned by the other *Recoes*) making report to him, what he had seene presently that night, what he heard of Captaine *Drake* this long time, and what he conjectured to be most likely: *viz.* that the said Captaine *Drake*, or some for him, disappointed of his expectation, of getting any great Treasure, both at *Nombre de dios* and other places, was by some meanes or other come by land, in covert thorow the Woods unto this place to speed for his purpose: and thereupon perswaded him to turne his *Reco* out of the way, and let the other *Recoes*, which were comming after to passe on. They were whole *Recoes*, and loaden but with Victuals for the most part, so that the losse of them were farre lesse if the worst befell, and yet they should serve to discover them as well as the best.

Thus by the rechiefnesse of one of our Company, and by the carefulnesse of this Traveller, we were disappointed of a most rich booty, which is to be thought God would not should be taken, for that by all likelihood it was well gotten by that Treasurer.

The other two *Recoes* were no sooner come up to us, but being stayed and sealed on, one of the chiefe Carriers, a very sensible fellow, told our Capitaine by what meanes we were discovered, and counselled us to shift for our selves betimes, unlesse we were able to encounter the whole force of the City and Country which before day would be about us.

It pleased us but little that we were defeated of our Golden *Recoe*, and that in these we could not find past some two Horse-load of Silver: but it grieved our Capitaine much more, that he was discovered, and that by one of his owne men. But knowing it bootlesse to grieve at things past, and having learned by experience, that all safety in extremities consisteth in taking of time: after no long consultation with *Pedro* the chiefe of our *Symerrons*, who declared that there were but two wayes for him: the one to travell back againe the same secret way they came, for foure leagues space into the Woods: or else to march forward by the high way to *Venta Cruz*, being two leagues, and make a way with his Sword thorow the Enemies. He resolved, considering the long and weary Marches that we had taken, and chiefly that last evening and day before: to take now the shortest and readiest way; as choosing rather to encounter his Enemies while he had strength remaining, then to be Encountered or chased when we should be worne out vvith vwearinesse; principally, now having the Moyles to ease them that vvould, some part of the vway.

Therefore

Therefore commanding all to refresh themselves moderately with such store of Victuall, as we had there in abundance, he signified his resolution and reason to them all: asking *Pedro* by name, whether he would give his hand not to forsake him (because he knew that the rest of the *Symerons* would also then stand fast and firme, so faithfull are they to their Captaine.) He being very glad of his resolution, gave our Captaine his hand, and vowed that he would rather dye at his foot, then leave him to the Enemies, if he held this course.

So having strengthened our selves for the time, we tooke our journey towards *Venta Cruz*, with helpe of the *Moyles*, till we came within a mile of the Towne, where we turned away the *Recoes*, charging the Conducters of them, not to follow us upon paine of their lives.

There the way is cut thotow the Woods, about tenne or twelve foot broad, so as two *Recoes* may passe one by another. The fruitfulnessse of the soyle causeth that with often shredding and ridding the way those Woods grow as thicke as our thickest hedges in *England* that are ofttest cut.

To the midst of this Wood, a Company of Souldiers which continually lay in that Towne, to defend it against the *Simerons* were come forth, to stop us if they might on the way, if not to retrain to their strength, and there to expect us. A Convent of Fryers, of whom one was become a Leader, joynd with these Souldiers, to take such part as they did.

Our Captaine understanding by our two *Simerons*, which with great heedfulnessse and silence, marched now, but above halfe a flight-shot before us, that it was

time for us to arme and take us to our weapons, for they knew the Enemy was at hand, by smelling of their match and hearing of a noise: had given us charge that no one of us should make any shot, untill the *Spaniards* had first spent their volley, which he thought they would not doe before they had spoken, as indeed fell out: For as soone as we were within hearing, a *Spanish* Captaine cried aloud, *Hóó*, our Captaine answered him likewise, and being demanded, *Que gente?* replied *Englishmen*. But when the said Commander charged him in the name of the King of *Spaine* his Master, that we should yeeld our selves, promising in the word and faith of a Gentleman Souldier, that if he would so do, he would use us with all courtesie; our Captaine drawing somewhat neere him, said; That for the honour of the Queene of *England* his Mistresse, he must have passage that way: and therewithall discharged his Pistol towards him.

Upon this, they presently shot off their whole volly, which, though it lightly wounded our Captaine and diverse of our men, yet it caused death to one onely of our Company called *John Harris*, who was so powdered with Haile-shot (which they all used for the most part as it seemed, or else quartered, for that our men were hurt with that kinde) that we could not recover his life, though he continued all that day afterwards with us. Presently as our Captaine perceived their shot to come flacking, as the latter drops of a great shewer of raine; with his Whistle he gave us his usuall signall, to answer them with our shot and arrowes, and so march onwards upon the Enemy, with intent to come to handy-strokes, and to have joyned with them: whom when he found retired as to a place of some better strength, he encreased his pace to prevent them if he might. Which the

Symerons

Symerons perceiving (although by terror of the shot continuing) they were for the time stept a side, yet as soone as they discerned by hearing that we marched onward, they all rusht forwards one after another, traversing the way, with their Arrowes ready in their Bowes, and their manner of Countrey Dance or Leape, very lustily, singing *Ró pehó, ró pehó*, and so got before us, where they continued their Leape and Song, after the manner of their owne Countrey Warres, till they and we over-tooke some of the Enemy, who neere the Townes-end had conveyed themselves within the Woods, to have taken their stand at us, as before.

But our *Symerons* now throughly encouraged, when they saw our resolution, brake in thorow the thickest, on both sides of them, forcing them to flye, Fryers and all, although divers of our Men were wounded, and one *Symeron* especially was runne thorow with one of their Pikes, whose courage and minde served him so well notwithstanding, that he revenged his owne death ere he dyed, by killing him that had given him that deadly wound.

We with all speed, following this Chase, entred the Towne of *Venta Cruz*, being of about forty or fifty Houses, which had both a Governour and other Officers, and some faire Houses, with many Store-houses large and strong for the Wares which were brought thither from *Nombre de Dios*, by the River of *Chagro*, so to be transported by Moyles to *Panama*, besides the Monastery, where we found above a thousand Bulls and Pardons newly sent thither from *Rome*.

In those Houses we found three Gentlewomen, which had lately beene delivered of Children there, though their dwelling were in *Nombre de Dios*, because

it hath beene observed a long time, as they reported to us, that no *Spaniards* or White Woman could ever be delivered in *Nombre de Dios* with safety of their Children, but that within two or three dayes they dyed; notwithstanding that being borne and brought up in this *Venta Cruz* or *Panama* five or six yeares, and then brought to *Nombre de Dios*, if they escaped sicknesse the first or second Moneth, they commonly lived in it as healthily as in any other place; although no Stranger (as they say) can endure there any long time, without great danger of death or extreame sicknesse.

Though at our first comming into the Towne with Armes so suddenly, these Gentlewomen were in great feare; yet because our Captaine had given straight charge to all the *Symerons* (that while they were in his Company, they should never hurt a Woman, nor Man that had not weapon in his hand to doe them hurt, which they earnestly promised, and no lesse faithfully performed) they had no wrong offered them, nor any thing taken from them, to the worth of a garter; wherein, albeit they had indeede sufficient safety and security, by those of his Company, which our Captaine sent unto them, of purpose to comfort them; yet they never ceased most earnestly intreating, that our Captaine would vouchsafe to come to them himselfe for their more safety: which when he did, in their presence reporting the charge he had first given, and the assurance of his Men, they were comforted.

While the Guards which we had (not without great neede) set, as well on the Bridge which we were to passe over, as at the Townes end where we entred (they have no other entrance into the Towne by Land, but from the Waters side there is one other, to carry up and
downe

downe their Merchandise from their Frigates) gained us liberty and quiet to stay in this Towne some houre and halfe ; we had not onely refreshed our selves, but our Company and *Symerons* had gotten some good Pillage, which our Captaine allowed and gave them (being not the thing he looked for) so that it were not too cumbersome or heavy in respect of our travell, or defence of our selves. A little before we departed, some ten or twelue Horsemen came from *Panama*, by all likelihood, supposing that we were gone out of this Town, for that all was so still and quiet, came to enter the Towne confidently ; but finding their entertainment such as it was, they that could, rode faster back againe for fear, then they had ridden forwards for hope.

Thus we having ended our businesse in this Towne, and the day beginning to spring, we Marched over the Bridge, observing the same order that we did before. There we were all safe in our opinion, as if we had been environed with Wall and Trench ; for that no *Spaniard* without his extreame danger could follow us. The rather now, for that our *Symerons* were growne very valiant. But our Captaine considering that he had a long way to passe, and that he had bin now well neer fortnight from his Ship, where he had left his Company but weake by reason of their sicknesse, hastned his Journies as much as he might, refusing to visit the other *Symeron* Townes (which they earnestly desired him) and encouraging his owne Company with such example and speech, that the way seemed much shorter. For He Marched most cheerfully, and assured us, that he doubted not but ere he left that Coast, we should all be bountifully paid and recompensed for all those paines taken. But by reason of this our Captaines haste, and leaving

of their Townes, we marched many dayes with hungry stomackes, much against the will of our *Symerons*; Who if we would have staid any day from this continuall journeying, would have killed for us Victuall sufficient.

In our absence, the rest of the *Symerons* had built a little Towne within three leagues off the Port where our Ship lay. There our Captaine was contented, upon their greit and earnest intreaties, to make some stay; for that they alleadged, it was onely built for his sake. And indeed he consented the rather, that the want of Shooes might be supplied by meanes of the *Symerons*, who were a great helpe unto us: all our Men complaining of the tenderneffe of their feet, whom our Captaine would himselfe in their complaint accompany sometimes without cause, but sometimes with cause indeed, which made the rest to beare the burthen the more easily.

These *Symerons*, during all the time that we were with them, did us continually very good service, and in particular in this Journey, being unto us instead of Intelligencers, to advertise us; of Guides in our way, to direct us; of Purveyors, to provide Victuals for us; of Housewrights to build our Lodgings; and had indeed able and strong Bodies, carying all our necessities; yea, many times when some of our Company fainted with sicknesse or wearinesse, two *Symerons* would carry him with ease between them two miles together; and at other times, when need was, they would shew themselves no lesse valiant then industrious, and of good judgment.

Febr. 22. From this Towne, at our first entrance in the even on Saturday, our Captaine dispatched a *Symeron* with a token and certaine order to the Master, who had this

this three weekes, kept good watch against the Enemy, and shifted in the woods for fresh Victuall, for the reliefe and recovery of our men left aboard. As soone as this messenger was come to the shoare, calling to our Ship, as bringing some newes, he was quickly fet aboard, by those which longed to heare of our Captaines speeding: but when he shewed the Tooth-pike of Gold, which he said our Captain had sent for a token to *Edward Hixem*, with charge to meet him at such a River: though the Master knew well the Captaines Tooth-pike: yet by reason of his admonition and caveat given him at parting, he (though he bewrayed no signe of distrusting the *Symeron*) yet stood as amazed, least something had befallen our Captaine otherwise then well. The *Symeron* perceiving this, told him, that it was night when he was sent away, so that our Captaine could not send any letter, but yet with the point of his Knife, he wrote something upon the Tooth-pike, which (he said) should be sufficient to gaine credit to the Messenger.

Thereupon the Master lookt upon it, and saw written, *By me Francis Drake*, wherefore he beleaved, and according to the message, prepared what provision he could, and repaired to the mouth of the River of *Tortugos*, as the *Symerons* that went with him then named it.

That afternoone towards three a Clocke, we were come downe to that River, not past halfe an houre, before we saw our Pinnace ready come to receive us; which was unto us all a double rejoycing: first, that we saw them, and next so soone: our Captaine with all our Company praised God most heartily, for that we saw our Pinnace and fellowes againe.

We all seemed to these who had lived at rest and plenty all this while aboard, as men strangely changed (our Captaine yet not much changed) in countenance and plight: and indeed our long fasting and fore travell might somewhat fore pine and waste us: but the greefe we drew inwardly, for that we returned without that Gold and Treasure we hoped for, did no doubt shew her print and foot steps in our faces.

The rest of our Men which were then missed, could not travell so well as our Captaine, and therefore were
 Febr. 23. left at the *Indian* new Towne: and the next day we towed to another River in the bottome of the Bay and tooke them all aboard.

Thus being returned from *Panama*, to the great rejoycing of our Company, who were throughly revived with the report we brought from thence: especially understanding our Captaines purpose, that he meant not to leave off thus, but would once againe attempt the same journey, vwhereof they also might be partakers: our Captaine would not in the meane time suffer this edge and forwardnesse of his men to be dulled or rebated, by lying still idely unmployed, as knowing right well by continuall experiences, that no sicknesse was more noysome to impeach any enterprise then delay and idlenesse.

Therefore considering deeply the intelligences of other places of importance thereabouts, which he had gotten the former yeares: and particularly of *Veragua*, a rich Towne lying to the Westward, betweene *Nombre de Dios* and *Nicaragua*, where is the richest Mine of fine Gold, that is on this North side: he consulted with his Company touching their opinions, what was to be done in this meane time, and how they stood affected

affected? Some thought that it was most necessary to seeke supply of Victuals, that we might the better be able to keepe our men close and in health till our time came: and this was easie to be compassed, because the Frigates with Victuall went without great defence, whereas the Frigates and Barkes with Treasure, for the most part were wasted with great Ships and store of Souldiers. Others yet judged, we might better bestow our time in intercepting the Frigates of Treasure: first, for that our Magazines and Stor-houses of Victuall were reasonably furnished, and the Countrey it selfe was so plentifull, that every man might provide for himselfe if the worst befell: and Victuall might hereafter be provided abundantly as well as now: whereas the Treasure never floteth upon the Sea, so ordinarily as at this time of the Fleetes being there, which time in no wise may be neglected.

The Symerons being demanded also their opinion, for that they were experienced in the particularities of all the Townes thereabouts, as in which, some or other of them had served: declared that by *Veragua Senior Pezoro* sometimes their Master from whom they fled, dwelt not in the Towne for feare of some surprise, but yet not farre off from the Towne, for his better releefe: in a very strong House of stone, where he had dwelt nineteene yeeres at least, never travelling from home, unlesse happily once a year to *Carthagene* or *Nombre de Dios* when the Fleetes were there: he keepeth a hundred Slaves at least in the Mines, each Slave being bound to bring in daylv cleare gaine (all charges deducted) three Pezoes of Gold for himselfe and two for his women (eight shillings three pence the Pezo) amounting in the whole, to above two hundred

died pound sterling each day: so that he hath heaped a mighty Masse of Treasure together, which he keepeth in certaine great Chests of two foote deepe, three broad, and foure long: being, notwithstanding all his Wealth, hard and cruell, not onely to his Slaues, but unto all men, and therefore never going abroad but with a Guard of five or six men to defend his person from danger, which he feareth extraordinarily from all Creatures. And as touching meanes of compassing this purpose, they would conduct him safely thorow the Woods, by the sameways by which they fled, that he should not need to enter their Havens with danger, but might come upon their backs altogether unlooked for. And though his house were of stone, so that it could not be burnt, yet if our Captaine would undertake the attempt, they would undermine and overthrow, or otherwise breake it open, in such sort as we might have easie access to his greatest Treasure.

Our Captaine having heard all their opinions, concluded so; that by dividing his Company, the two first different sentences, were both reconciled, both to be practised and put in ure. *John Oxnam* appointed in the *Beare*, to be sent Eastwards towards *Tolou*, to see what store of Victuals would come athwart his halfe, and himselfe would to the Westwards in the *Minion*, lye off and on the *Cabezas*, where was the greatest trade and most ordinary passage of those which transported Treasure from *Veragua* and *Nicaragua* to the Fleet: so that no time might be lost, nor opportunity let slip either for Victuall or Treasure. As for the attempt of *Veragua* or *Sinior Pezoros* House by land, by marching thorow the Woods, he liked not of, least it might
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over-weary his Men by continuall labour, whom he studyed to refresh and strengthen, for his next service fore named.

Therefore using our *Symmons* most courteously, dismissing those that were desirous to goe to their Wives, with such Gifts and favours as were most pleasing, and entertaining those still aboard his Ship, which were contented to abide with the Company remaining, the Pin-naces departed, as was determined, the *Minion* to the West, the *Beare* to the East.

The *Minion* about the *Calezas* met with a Frigate of *Nicaragua*, in which was some Gold, and a *Genoway* Pilot, of which Nation there are many in those Coasts, which had beene at *Veragua* not past eight dayes before, he being very well entreated, certified our Capraine of the State of the Towne, and of the Harbour, and of a Frigate that was there ready to come forth within few dayes, aboard in which there was above a Million of Gold, offering to conduct him to it, if we would doe him his right, for that he knew the Channell very perfectly, so that he could enter by night safely without danger of the Sands and Shallowes (though there be but little Water) and utterly undeseried, for that the Towne is five leagues within the Harbour, and the way by Land is so farre about and difficult thorow the Woods, that though we should by any casualty be discovered, about the point of the Harbour, yet we might dispatch our businesse and depart, before the Towne could have notice of our comming. At his being there, he perceived they had heard of *Drakes* being on the Coast, which had put them in great feare, as in all other places (*Pezoro* purposing to remove himselfe to the South Sea) but there was nothing done

to prevent him, their freare being so great, that, as it is accustomed in such cases, it excluded Counsell and bred despaire.

Our Captaine conferring with his owne knowledge and former intelligences, was purposed to have returned to his Ship, to have taken some of those *Symerons* which had dwelt with *Sinior Pezoro*, to be the more confirmed in this point. But when the *Genomay* Pilot was very earnest to have the time gained, and warranted our Captaine of good speed, if we delayed not; he dismissed the Frigates somewhat lighter, to hasten her journey, and with this Pilots advice, laboured with Sayle and Oares to get this Harbour, and to enter it by night accordingly; considering that this Frigate might now be gained, and *Pezoros* House attempted hereafter notwithstanding.

But when we were come to the mouth of the Harbour, we heard the report of two Chambers, and farther off about a league within the Bay, two other, as were answering them. Whereby our *Genomaise* Pilot conjectured that we were discovered; for he assured us, that this order had beene taken, since his last being there; by reason of the advertisement and charge, which the Governour of *Panama* had sent unto all the Coast, which even in their Beds lay in grear and continuall fear of our Captaine, and therefore by all likelihood, maintained this kinde of Warch, at the charge of the rich *Gnuffe Pezoro*, for their security.

Thus being defeated of this expectation, we found that it was not Gods will that we should enter at that time: the rather. for that the Winde, which had all this time beene Easterly, came up to the Westward, and invited us to returne againe to our Ship; where on sheere
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Thursday we met according to appointment with our *Beare*, and found that she had bestowed her time to more profit then we had done. For she had taken a Frigate in which there were ten men, whom they set a shoare; great store of *Maiz*, twenty eight fat Hogs, and two hundred Hennes. Our Captaine discharged this Frigate of her lading, and because she was new, strong, and of a good mould, the next day he tallowed her to make her a Man of Warre: disposing all our Ordnance and provisions that were fit for such use in her. For we had heard by the *Spaniards* last taken, that there were two little Gallies built in *Nombre de Dios*, to waite the *Chagro* Fleete to and fro, but were not yet both lanced: wherefore he purposed now to adventure for that Fleete. And to hearten his Company, he feasted *Marc. 20.* them that Easter-day with great cheere and cheerefulness, setting up his rest upon that attempt.

The next day with the new tallowed Frigate of *Marc. 21.* *Tolou* and his *Beare*, we set saile towards the *Catizaas*, where about two dayes after we landed, and stayed while noone: at what time seeing a sayle to the Westwards, as we deemed making to the Iland: we set sayle and plyed towards him, who descrying us, bare with us, till he perceived by our confidence, that we were no *Spaniards*, and conjectured that we were those *Englishmen*, of whom they had heard long before. And being in great want, and desired to be relieved by us, he bare up under our Lee, and in token of amity, shot off his Lee Ordnance which was not unanswered.

We understood that he was *Tetu* a French Captaine of *New-haven*, a Man of Warre as we were: desirous to be relieved by us. For at our first meeting

the *French* Captaine cast abroad his hands, and prayed our Captaine to helpe him to some water, for that he had nothing but Wine and Cider aboard him, vvhich had brought his Men into great sicknesse. He had fought us ever since he first heard of our being upon the Coast, about this five vveekes. Our Captaine sent one aboard him vvith some releefe for the present, vvilling him to follow us to the next Port, vvhere he should have both Water and Victuals. At our comming to Anchor he sent our Captaine a Case of Pistols, and a faire guilt Symeter, (vvhich had beene the late Kings of *France*, vvhom Monsieur *Mongome-ry* hurt in the eye, and vvvas given him by Monsieur *Strosse*) our Captaine requited him vvith a Chaîne of Gold, and a Tablet vvich he vvore.

This Captaine reported unto us the first newes of the Massacre at *Paris*, at the King of *Navarres* marriage on Saint *Bartholomewes* day last, of the Admirall of *France* slaine in his Chamber, and divers other Murthers; so that he thought those Frenchmen the happiest that were farthest from *France*; now no longer *France* but Frensie, even as if all *Gaul* were turned into Worme-wood and Gall. *Italian* practises having overmastered the *French* simplicity. He shewed what famous and often reports he had heard of our great riches. He desired to know of our Captain vvich vvay he might compass his Voyage also. Though we had him in some jealousy and distrust, for all his prerence, because we considered more the strength he had, then the good will he might beare us; yet upon consultation among our selues, whether it were fit to receive him or no; we resolved to take him and twenty of his Men, to serve vvith our Captaine for halfe: in such sort as vve needed not doubt
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of their Forces, being but twenty, nor be hurt by their Portions, being no greater then ours; and yet gratifie them in their earnest suit, and serve our owne purpose, which without more helpe we could very hardly have achieved. Indeed he had seventy Men, and we now but thirty one: his Ship was above eighty tun, and our Frigate not past twenty, our Pinnace nothing neer ten tun; yet our Captaine thought this proportionable, in consideration that not number of Men, but quality of their judgements and knowledge, were to be the principall actors herein; and the *French* Ship could doe no service, nor stand in any steed to this enterprise which we intended, and had agreed upon long before, both touching the time when it should take beginning, and the place where we should meet, namely at *Rio Francisco*. Having thus agreed with Captaine *Tetu*, we sent for the *Symerians*, as before was decreed; two of them were brought aboard our Ships, to give the *French* assurance of this agreement.

As soone as we could furnish our selues and refresh the *French* Company, which was within five or six dayes (by bringing them to the Magazine which was the neerest, where they were supplied by us in such sort, as they protested they were beholding to us for all their lives) taking twenty of the *French*, and fiftene of ours with our *Symerons*, leaving both our Ships in safe Roade, we Mand our Frigate and two Pinnaces (we had formerly sunke our *Lyon*, shortly after our returne from *Panama*, because we had not Men sufficient to Man her) and went towards *Rio Francisco*, which because it had not water enough for our Frigate, caused us to leave her at the *Cabezas*, Mand with *English* and *French*, in the charge of *Robert Drake*, to stay there, without attempting any chase, untill the

March 13. returne of our Pinnaces. And then beare to *Rio Francisco*, where our Captaines landed with such Force as afore-said; and charged them that had the charge of the Pinnaces, to be there the fourth day next following without any faile.

And thus knowing that the Cariages went now daily from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, we proceeded in covert through the Woods, towards the High-way that leaderth betweene them. It is five leagues accounted by Sea, betweene *Rio Francisco* and *Nombre de Dios*; but that way which we marched by land, we found it above seaven league. We marched, as in our former journey to *Panama*, both for order and silence, to the great wonder of the *French* Captaine and Company, who protested they knew not by any meanes how to recover the Pinnaces, if the *Symerons* (to whom what our Captaine commanded was a law, though they little regarded the *French*, as having no trust in them) should leave us: our Captain assured him, there was no cause of doubt of them, of whom he had had such former tryall. When we were come vvithin an *English* mile of the Way, vve stayed all night, refreshing our selves in great stilnesse in a most convenient place, vvhere vve heard the Carpenters, being many in number, vvorking upon their Ships, as they usually doe by reason of the great heat of the day in *Nombre de Dios*, and might heare the Moyles comming from *Panama*, by reason of the advantage of the ground. The next morning, upon hearing of that great number of Bels, the *Symerons* rejoyced exceedingly, as though there could not have befallen them a more joyfull accident, chiefly having been disappointed before. Now they all assured us, vve should have more Gold and Silver then all of us could beare away, as in truth it fell out. For there came three

April 1.

Recoes

Recoes, one of fifty Moyles, the other two of seventy each, every of vvhich caryed three hundred pound vvaight of Silver, vvhich in all amounted to neer thirty Tun. We putting our selus in readinesse, vvent down neer the Way to hear the Bels, vvhether vve stayed not long, but vve saw of vvhether Metall they vvere made, and tooke such hold on the heads of the foremost and hindmost Moyles, that all the rest stayed and lay down, as their manner is.

These three *Recoes* were guarded with forty five Souldiers, or thereabouts; fifteene to each *Reco*, which caused some exchange of Bullets and Arrowes for a time; in which conflict the *French* Captaine was sore wounded with Hayle shot in the Belly, and one *Symeron* slain. But in the end these Souldiers thought it the best way to leave their Moyles with us, and to seeke for more helpe abroad; in which meane time we tooke some paine to ease some of the Moyles, which were heaviest loaden, of their carriages. And being weary, we were content with a few bars and quoits of Gold, as we could well carry: burying about fifteene tun of Silver, partly in the Boroughs which the great Land-crabs had made in the earth, and partly under old trees which are fallen thereabout, and partly in the Sand and Gravell of a River, not very deepe of water.

Thus when about this businesse we had spent some two houres, and had disposed of all our matters, and were ready to March backe, the very selfe same way that we came, we heard both Horse and Foot comming, as it seemed to the Moyles, for they never followed us, after we were once entred the Woods; where the *French* Captaine, by reason of his wound, not able to travell farther, stayed, in hope that some rest would recover him better strength. But after we had marched some two leagues,

upon the *French* Souldiers complaint, that they missed one of their Men also, examination being made whether he were slaine or no; it was found that he had drunke much Wine, and over-lading himselfe with Pillage, and hasting to goe before us, had lost himselfe in the Woods. And as we afterwards knew, he was taken by the *Spaniards* that evening, and upon torture, discovered unto them where we had hidden our Treasure.

We continued our March all that and the next day towards *Rio Francisco*, in hope to meet our Pinnaces; but Apr. 2. 3. when we came thither, looking out to Sea, we saw seven *Spanish* Pinnaces, which had beene searching all the Coasts thereabout. Whereupon we mightily suspected that they had taken or spoyled our Pinnaces, for that our Captaine had given so straight charge, that they should repaire to this place this after-noone from the *Cabezas* where they rode, whence to our sight, these *Spaniards* Pinnaces did come.

But the night before, there had fallen very much raine, with much Westerly Winde, which as it enforced the *Spaniards* to returne home the sooner, by reason of the Storme; so it kept our Pinnaces, that they could not keepe the appointment, because the Winde was contrary, and blew so strong, that with their Oares they could all that day get but halfe the way. Notwithstanding, if they had followed our Captaines direction in setting forth over night, while the wind served, they had arrived at the place appointed with farre lesse labour, but with farre more danger, because that very day at noone, the *Spanish* Shallops mand out of purpose from *Nombre de Dios*, were come to this place to take our Pinnaces: imagining where we were, after they had heard of our intercepting of the Treasure. Our Captaine seeing

ing the Shallops, feared least having taken our Pinnaces, they had compelled our men by torture, to confesse where his Frigate and Ships were. Therefore in this distresse and perplexity, the Company misdoubting that all meanes of returne to their Country were cut off, and that their Treasute then served them to small purpose: our Captaine comforted and encouraged us all, saying: We should venter no farther then he did, it was no time now to feare, but rather to haste to prevent that which was feared: if the Enemy have prevailed against our Pinnaces, which God forbid, yet they must have time to search them, time to examine the Mariners; time to execute their resolution after it is determined; before all these times be taken, we may get to our Ships if ye will, though not possibly by land, because of the Hills, Thickets and Rivers, yet by water. Let us therefore make a Raft with the trees that are here in readinesse, as offering themselves being brought downe the River, happily this last storme, and put our selves to Sea, I will be one, who will be the other? *John Smith* offered himselfe, and two *Frenchmen* that could swim very well, desired they might accompany our Captaine, as did the *Symeron* likewise (who had been very earnest with our Captaine to have marched by land though it were sixteene dayes journey, and in case the Ships had been surprized, to have aboard alwayes with them) especially *Pedro*, who yet was faine to be left behind, because he could not row. The Raft was firted and fast bound; a Sayle of a Bisket Sacke prepared; an Oare was shaped out of a young Tree to serve instead of a Rudder, to direct their course before the wind. At his departure he comforted the Company, by promising, that if it pleased God, he should put his foot in safety aboard his Frigate, he would
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God willing, by one meanes or other get them all aboard, in despite of all the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*. In this manner putting off to the Sea, he sayled some three leagues sitting up to the waste continually in water, and at every surge of the wave to the armpits, for the space of six houres, upon this Raft, what with the parching of the Sunne, and what with the beating of the Salt water, they had all of them their skins much fretted away. At length God gave them the sight of two Pinnaces turning towards them with much wind, but with farre greater joy to him, that could easily conjecture, and did cheerfully declare to those three with him, that they were our Pinnaces, and that all was safe, so that there was no cause of feare. But see, the Pinnaces not seeing this Raft, nor suspecting any such matter, by reason of the wind and night growing on, were forced to run into a cover behind the point, to take succour for that night: which our Captaine seeing, and gathering, because they came not forth againe, that they would Anchor there, put his Raft a shoare, and ran by land about the point, where he found them, who upon sight of him, made as much haste as they could to take him and his Company aboard. For our Captain of purpose to try what haste they could and would make in extremity, himselfe ran in great haste, and so willed the other three with him, as if they had been chased by the Enemy: which they the rather suspected, because they saw so few with him. And after his comming aboard, when, they demanding, how all his Company did? he answered coldly, well: they all doubted, that all went scarce well. But he willing to rid all doubts, and fill them with joy, rooke out of his bosome a Quoit of Gold, thanking God that our Voyage vvas made. And to the *Frenchmen* he declared

clared, how their Captaine indeed was left behind, sore wounded and two of this Company with him : but it should be no hinderance to them.

That night our Captain with great paine of his Company, rowed to *Rio Francisco*: where he tooke the rest in, and the Treasure which we had brought with us: making such expedition, that by dawning of the day, we set sayle backe againe, to our Frigate, and from thence directly to our Ships : where assoone as we arrived, our Captaine devided by weight, the Gold and Silver into two even portions, betweene the *French*, and the *English*.

About a fortnight after, vwhen vve had set all things in order, and taking out of our Ship all such necessaries as we needed for our Frigate, had left and given her to the *Spaniards*, whom we had all this time detained, we put out of that Harbour, together with the *French* Ship, riding some few dayes among the *Cabezas*. In the meane time our Captaine made a secret composition with the *Symerons*, that twelve of our men and sixteene of theirs, should make another Voyage, to get intelligence in what case the countrey stood, and if it might be, recover Monsieur *Tetu* the *French* Captaine, at leastwise to bring away that which was hidden in this former surprise and could not then be conveniently carried. *John Oxnam* and *Thomas Sherwell* were put in trust for our service, to the great content of the vvhole Company, vwho conceived greatest hope of them next our Captaine, whom by no meanes they would condescend to suffer to adventure againe this time, yet he himselfe rowed to set them ashore at *Rio Francisco*, finding his labour well imployed both otherwise, and also in saving one of those two *Frenchmen* that had remained vvolingly to accompany

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their

their wounded Captaine. For this Gentleman having escaped the rage of the *Spaniards*, was now comming towards our Pinnace, where he fell downe on his knees, blessing God for the time that ever our Captaine was borne, who now beyond all his hope, was become his deliverer.

He being demanded what was become of his Captaine and other fellow, shewed that within halfe an hour after our departure, the *Spaniards* had over gotten them, and tooke his Captaine and other fellow: he onely escaped by flight, having cast away all his Carriage, and among the rest one Box of Jewels, that he might flye the swifter from the Pursuers: but his fellow tooke it up and burthened himselfe so sore, that he could make no speed, as easily he might otherwise, if he would have cast downe his Pillage, and laid aside his covetous mind; as for the Silver, which we had hidden thereabout in the Earth and the Sands, he thought that it was all gone, for that he thought there had been neere two thousand *Spaniards* and *Negroes* there, to dig and search for it. This report notwithstanding, our purpose held, and our Men were sent to the said place, where they found that the Earth, every way a mile distant had beene digged and turned up in every place of any likelihood, to have any thing hidden in it. And yet neverthelesse, for all that narrow search, all our Mens labour was not quite lost: but so considered, that the third day after their departure, they all returned safe and cheerefull, with as much Silver as they and all the *Symerons* could finde, (*viz.* thirteene bars of Silver, and some few Quoits of Gold, with which they were presently imbarqued without empeachment, repairing with no lesse speed then joy to our Frigate. Now was it high time to thinke of homewards, having sped our selves as we desired: & therefore

fore our Captaine concluded to visit *Rio Grand*, once again; to see if he could meet with any sufficient Ship or Barke, to carry Victual enough to serve our turne homewards, in which we might in safety and security imbarque our selves.

The *Frenchmen* having formerly gone from us as soon as they had their shares at our first returne with the Treasure, as being very desirous to return home into their Country, and our Captaine as desirous to dismisse them, as they were to be dismissed: for that he foresaw they could not in their Ship avoid the danger of being taken by the *Spaniards*, if they should make out any Men of Warre for them, while they lingred on the Coast, and having also been then againe releevd with Victuals by us: Now at our meeting of them againe, were very loath to leave us, and therefore accompanied us very kindly as far up as *Saint Barnards*, and farther would, but that they durst not adventure so great danger, for that we had intelligence that the Fleet was ready to set sayle for *Spaine*, riding at the entry of *Carthagena*. Thus we departed from them, passing hard by *Carthagena*, in the sight of all the Fleet, with a Flag of *Saint George* in the maine top of our Frigate, with filke Screemers and Ancients downe to the water, sayling forward with a large wind, till we came within two leagues of the River, being all low land, and darke night: where to prevent the over shooting of the River in the night, we lay off and on bearing small sayle, till that about mid-night the wind veering to the Eastward, by two of the Clocke in the morning, a Frigate from *Rio Grand* passed hard by us, bearing also but small sayle. We saluted them with our shot and Arrowes, they answered us with Bases; but we got aboard them, and tooke such order, that they

were content against their wils to depart a shoar and to leave us this Frigate which was of twenty five Tun, loaded with Maiz, and Hens and Hogs, and some Honey in very good time fit for our use: for the Honey especially was a notable releever and preserver of our crased people. The next morning as soone as we set those *Spaziards* a shoare on the maine, vve set our course for the *Cabezas* without any stop, whether we came about five dayes after. And being at Anchor, presently vve hove out all the Maiz aland, saving three Buts vvhich vve kept for our store: and carrying all our provisions a shoate, we brought both our Frigates on the *Carine*, and new tal-
lowed them.

Here we stayed about a seven night, trimming and rigging our Frigates, boarding and stowing our Provisions, tearing abroad and burning our Pinnaces, that the *Symemons* might have the Iron-worke. About a day or two before our departure, our Captain willed *Pedro* and three of the chiefest of the *Symerons*, to goe through both his Frigates, to see what they liked, promising to give it them whatsoever it were, so it were not so necessary as that he could not returne into *England* without it. And for their Wives, he would himselfe seek out some Silkes or Linnea that might gratifie them; which while he was choosing out of his Trunkes, the Cymeter which Captaine *Tetu* had given to our Captaine, chanced to be taken forth in *Pedroes* sight, which he seeing grew so much in liking thereof, that he accounted of nothing else in respect of it, and preferred it before all that could be given him; yet imagining, that it was no lesse esteemed of our Captaine, durst not himselfe open his mouth to crave or commend it, but made one *Francis Tucker* to be his mean to breake his minde, promising to give him a fine quoit
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of Gold, which yet he had in store, if he would but move our Captaine for it; and to our Captaine himselfe, he would give foure other great quoits, which he had hidden, intending to have reserved them till another Voyage. Our Captain being accordingly moved by *Francis Tucker*, could have beene content to have made no such exchange, but yet desirous to content him, that had deserved so well, he gave it him with many good words, who received it with no little joy, affirming that if he should give his Wife and Children (which he loved dearly) in lieu of it, he could not sufficiently recompence it, (for he would present his King with it, who he knew would make him a great Man, even for this very Gifts sake) yet in gratuity and steed of other requitall of this Jewell, he desired our Captaine to accept these foure peeces of Gold, as a token of his thankfulness to him, and a pawne of his faithfulness during life. Our Captaine received it in most kinde sort, but tooke it not to his owne benefit, but caused it to be cast into the whole Adventure, saying, If he had not beene set forth to that place, he had not attained such a Commodity; and therefore it was just, that they which bare part with him of his burthen in setting him to Sea, should enjoy the proportion of his benefit whatsoever, at his returne.

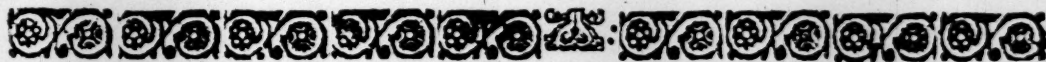
Thus with good love and liking we tooke our leave of that People, setting over to the Islands of whence the next day after, we set sayle towards *Cape Saint Anthony*, by which we past with a large winde; but presently being to stand for *th' Havana*, we were faine to ply to the windward some three or foure dayes. In which plying, we fortun'd to take a small Barke, in which were two or three hundred Hides, and one most necessary thing, which stood us in great stead, *viz.* a Pumpe, which we

set in our Frigate; their Barke, because it was nothing fit for our service, our Captaine gave them to carry them home. And so returned to *Cape Saint Anthony*, and landing there we refreshed our Selues, and besides great store of Turtles egges, found by day in the we tooke two hundred and fifty Turtles by night; we powdered and dried some of them, which did us good service, the rest continued but a small time. There were at this time, belonging to *Carthagene*, *Nombre de dios*, *Rio grana*, *Santa Martha*, *Rio de Hacha*, *Venta Cruz*, *Veragua*, *Nicaragua*, the *Henduras*, *Iamaica*, &c. above two hundred Frigates, some of one hundred twenty Tunnes, other but of ten or twelve Tun, but the most of thirty or forty Tun, which all had entercourse between *Carthagene* and *Nombre de dios*; the most of which, during our aboard in those parts we tooke, and some of them twice or thrice each, yet never burnt or sunck any, unlesse they were made out Men of Warre against us, or laid as stals to entrap us. And of all the men taken in these severall Vessels, we never offered any kind of violence to any, after they were once come under our power, but either presently dismissed them in safety, or keeping them with us some longer time, (as some of them we did) we alwayes provided for their sustenance as for our selvs, & secured them from the rage of the *Symerons* against them, till at last, the danger of their discovering where our Ships lay being overpast, (for which onely cause we kept them prisoners) we set them also free. Many strange Birds, Beasts and Fishes, besides Fruits, Trees, Plants, and the like, were seen and observed of us in this Journey, which willingly we pretermitt as hastning to the end of our Voyage, which from this *Cape of Saint Anthony* we intended to finish, by sayling the directest and speediest way homeward, and accordingly,

cordingly, even beyond our owne expectation most happily performed. For whereas our Captaine had purposed to touch at *New-found-land*, and there to have watted, which would have been some let unto us, though we stood in great want of Water; yet God Almighty so provided for us, by giving us good store of Raine-water, that we were sufficiently furnished; and within twenty three dayes we past from the Cape of *Florida*, to the Iles of *Silley*, and so arrived at *Plimouth* on Sunday about Sermon-time, *August* the ninth 1573. at what time the newes of our Captaines return brought unto his, did so speedily passe over all the Church, and surpasse their minds, with desire and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the Preacher, all hastning to see the evidence of Gods love and blessing towards our Gracious Queene and Cuntry, by the fruit of our Captaines labour and successe.

Soli Deo Gloria.

FINIS.

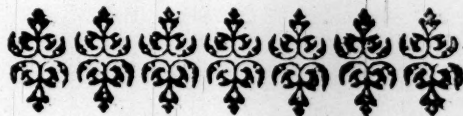


THE
WORLD
ENCOMPASSED

BY
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Offered now at last to Publique view, both
for the honour of the Actor, but especially
for the stirring up of heroicke Spirits, to benefit
their Countrey, and eternize their Names
by like noble attempts.

Collected out of the Notes of Master *Francis Fletcher*
Preacher in this imployment, and compared with
divers others Notes that went in the
same VOYAGE.



Printed at *London* for *Nicholas Bourne*, dwelling at the
South entrance of the royall Exchange, 1652.



S I R F R A N C I S D R A K E
his Voyage about the W O R L D.



Ver since Almighty God commanded *Adam* to subdue the Earth, there hath not wanted in all Ages, some heroicall Spirits, which in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct inforcing them thereunto, have expended their wealth, imployed their times and adventured their Persons to finde out the true circuit of the World.

Of these, some have endeavored to effect this their purpose, by conclusion and consequence, drawn from the proportion of the higher Circles, to this nethermost Globe, being the Center of the rest. Others not contented with Schoole Points & such demonstrations (for that a small error in the beginning, groweth in the progresse to a great inconvenience) have added therunto their own History and experience. All of them in reason have deserved great commendation of their owne Ages, and purchased a just renowne with all posterity. For if a Surveyor of some few Lordships, wherof the bounds and limits were before known worthily deserve his reward, not only for his travell, but for his skill also, in measuring the whol and every part thereof: how much more above comparison, are their famous Travels by all means possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and indeavour, to survey & measure this Globe almost unmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be objected, which in private Possessions is of value. *whose Land Survey you?* forasmuch as the main Ocean by right is the Lords alone, and by nature left free, for all men to deal withal, as very sufficient

sufficient for all mens use, & larg enough for al mens industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprize, accompanied with happy successe, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captain *Francis Drake* achieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not onely overmatch the ancient Argonauts, but also outreacherh in many respects, that noble Mariner *Magellanus*, and by far surpasseth his crowned Victory. But hereof let Posterity judge.

It shall for the present, be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty, to register the true and whole history of that his Voyage, with as great indifferency of affection as a history doth require, and with the plain evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chiefe, and divers other Actors in that Action.

The said Captain *Francis Drake*, having in a former voyege, in the years 72, and 73, (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world) had a sight, and onely a sight of the south Atlantik, and thereupon either conceiving a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an English bottom; he so cherished thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himselfe, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some years partly by secret envy at home, and partly by publicke service for his Prince and Country abroad (wherof *Ireland* under *Walter* Earl of *Essex* gives honorable testimony) yet against the yeare 1577. by gracious commission from his Soveraigne and with the helpe of divers friends Adventurers, he had fitted himselfe with five Ships.

1. *The Pellican*, Admirall, burthen 100. tons. Captaine generall *Francis Drake*.

2. *The Elizabeth*, Vice admirall, burthen 80 tonnes. Captaine *John Winter*.

3. *The Marigold*, a Bark of 30. tons. Captain *John Thomas*.

4. *The Swan*, a Fliboat of 50. tons. Captaine *John Chester*.

5. *The Christopher*, a Pinnace of fiftene tonnes. Captaine *Thomas Moone*.

These

These Ships he mannd with 164. able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentiful provision of all things necessary as so long and dangerous a Voyage did seem to require: and amongst the rest, with certaine Pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in peices, to be new set up in smother water, when occasion served. Neither had he omitted, to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert Musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his Table, yea many belonging even to the Cooke-room being of pure Silver) and divers shewes of allsorts of curious Workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native Country, might amongst all Nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

Being thus appointed we set saile out of the sound of *Plimmouth*, about five of the Clocke in the afternoon *November* Nov. 15. 15. of the same yeare, and running all that night Southwest, by the morning were come as far as the *Lizard*, where meeting the wind at Southwest (quite contrary to our intended course) we were forced with our whole Fleet to put in to *Falmouth*. Nov. 16.

The next day towards evening, there arose a storme, continuing all that night, and the day following (especially betweene 10. ten of the Clocke in the forenoone, and five in the afternoone) with such violence, that though it were in a very good Harbor, yet two of our Ships, viz. the Admirall (wherein our Generall himselfe went) and the *Marigold* were faine to cut their maine Masts by board, and for the repairing of them, and many other dammages in the tempest sustained (as soone as the Weather would give leave) to beare back to *Plimmouth* again, where we all arrived the thirteenth day after our first departure thence. Nov. 17.

Whence having in few dayes supplied all defects with hap- pier sailes we once more put to Sea *December* Dec. 13. 1577. 1577.

As soon as we were out of sight of Land, our Generall gave us occasion to conjecture in part, whither he intended, both by the directing of his course, and appointing the Randevous (if any

1577
Dec. 25. any should be severed from the Fleet to be the Island *Mogadore*. And so sailing with favorable winds, the first Land that we had sight of, was *Cape Cantine* in *Barbary* December 25. Christmas day in the morning. The shoare is faire white Sand, and the inland country very high and mountainous, it lyeth in 32. deg. 30. min. North latitude, and so coasting from hence Southward, about 18 leagues, we arrived the same day at *Mogadore* the Island before named.

This *Mogadore*, lies under the dominion of the King of *Fesse* in 31. deg. 40. m. about a mile off from the shoar, by this means making a good harbor between the Land and it. It is uninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very high Land, all overgrowne with a kinde of shrub Brest high, not much unlike our privet, very full of Doves and therefore much frequented of Goshawks, and such like Birds of prey, besides divers sorts of Sea-fowl very plenty. At the South side of this Island are three hollow Rocks, under which are great store of very wholesome but very ugly fish to looke to. Lying here about a mile from the maine, a Boat was sent to sound the Harbor, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side about five or six fathome water (but at the Souther side it is very dangerous) we brought in our whole Fleet December 27. and continued there till the last day of the same Month, imploying our leasure, the meane while, in setting up a Pinnace, one of the foure brought from home in peeces with us. Our abode here was soon perceived by the Inhabitants of the country, who coming to the shoar by signes and cries made shew, that they desired to be ferched aboard, to whom our Generall sent a Boat, in which two of the chieft of the *Moors* were presently received, and one man of ours, in exchange, left a land, as a pledge for their returne.

They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a dainty banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that they might thereby understand, that this Fleet came in peace and friendship, offering to Traffique with them
for

for such commodities as their country yeilded, to their own content. This offer they seemed most gladly to accept, and promised the next day to resort again, with such things as they had to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drink no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleaseth them well to have it abundantly, as here was experience. At their return ashore, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed, and the next day, at the hour appointed, returning again, brought with them Camels, in shew loaden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities, and calling for a boat in hast, had one sent them, according to order, with our Generall (being at this present absent, had given before his departure to the Island.

Our boat coming to the place of landing (which was among the rocks) one of our men called *John Fry*, mistrusting no danger; nor fearing any harm pretended by them, and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order used the day before, readily stept out of the boat and ran a land, which opportunity (being that which the *Moors* did look for) they took the advantage of, and not only they which were in sight layed hands on him to carry him away with them, but a number more, which lay secretly hidden, did forthwith break forth from behind the rock, whether they had conveyed themselves (as seemeth the night before) forcing our men to leave the rescuing of him that was taken as captive, and with speed to shift for themselves.

The cause of this violence, was a desire which the King of *Fesse* had, to understand what this fleet was, whether any fore-runner of the Kings of *Portugall* or no, and what newes of certainty the fleet might give him. And therefore after that he was brought to the K. presence, & had reported that they were English men, bound for the *Straights*, under the conduct of generall *Drake*, he was sent back again with a present to his captain and offer of great courtesie and friendship, if he would use his country. But in this mean time, the generall being grieved with this shew of injury, and intending, if he might, to recover

1577. or redeem his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the countrey, without any resistance made against him: neither would the *Moores*, by any meanes come nigh our Men, to deale with them any way; wherefore having made provision of wood, as also visited an old fort, built sometime by the King of *Portugall*, but now ruined by the King of *Fesse*, we departed *December 31.* towards *Cape Blank*, in such sort, that when *Fry* returned, he found to his great grief, that the fleet was gone: but yet, by the Kings favor, he was sent home into *England* not long after, in an English Merchants ship.

Shortly after our putting forth of this harbor, we were met with contrary winds and foule weather, which continued till the fourth of *January*: yet we still held on our course, and the third day after, fell with cape *De Guerre* in 30. deg. minutes
Jan. 7. where we lighted on 3. *Spanish* fishermen called *Caunters*, whom we took with our new pinnace, and carried along with
Jan. 13. us, till we came to *Rio Del Oro*, just under the Tropick of *Cancer*: where with our pinnace also we took a carvell. From
Jan. 15. hence, till the 15. day, we sailed on towards cape *Barbas*, where the Marigold took a carvell more, and so onward to cape
Jan. 16. *Blanck* till the next day at night.

This cape lyeth in 20. deg. 30. min. sheweth it self upright like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the North, having between it and cape *Barbas*, low, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the south *Guards*, called the *Crofters* 9. deg. 30. min. above the Horizon. Wherein the cape, we took one *Spanish* ship more riding at anchor (all her men being fled ashore in the boat save two) which with all the rest we have formerly taken, we carried into the harbor, 3. leagues within the cape.

Here our Generall determined, for certain dayes to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh vi-
 ctuals, for the present refreshing of our men, & for their future supply at sea (by reason of the infinite store of divers sorts of
 good

good fish, which are there easie to be taken, even within the harbor, the like whereof, is hardly to be found again, in any part of the world) as also, because it served very fitly, for the dispatching of some other businesses that we had. During the time of our abode in this place, our generall being a shoare was visited by certain of the people of the country, who brought down with them a woman a *Moore* (with her little babe hanging upon her dry dug, having scarce life in her selfe, much lesse milk to nourish her child) to be sould as a horse, or a cow and calf by her side, in which sort of merchandise our generall would not deale. But they had also Amber-greece, with certain gums of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water (whereof they have great want) so that coming with their *Allforges* (they are leathern bags holding liquor) to buy water, they cared not at what price they bought it, so they may have to quench their thirst. A very heavy judgement of God upon that coast! The circumstances whereof considered, our generall would receive nothing of them for water, but freely gave it them that came to him, yea & fed them also ordinarily with our victuals, in eating whereof, their manner was not uncivill, and unsightly to us, but even inhumane and loathsome in it self.

And having washed and trim'd our ships, and discharged all our spanish prizes, excepting one *Caunter* (for which we gave to the owner of our own ships, viz. the *Christopher*) and one carvell formerly bound to Saint *Jago*, which we caused to accompany us hither, where she also was discharged: after six dayes abode here, we departed, directing our course for the Islands of cape *Verde*, where (if any were) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our generall intended from thence to run a long course (even to the coast of *Brasill*) without touch of land. And now, having the wind constant at *North East*, & *E. North E.* which is usuall about those parts, because it bloweth almost continually from the shoare. *January* the 27. we coasted *Bonavista*, and the next day

Jan, 22.

1577. after we came to anchor under the Wester part (towards St.
Jan. 28. *Jago* of the Island *Maio*, it lyeth in 15. deg. 00. high land, sa-
 ving that the North-west part stretcheth out into the sea, the
 space of a league very low, and is inhabited by subjects to the
 King of *Portugall*.

Jan. 29. Here landing, in hope of traffique with the inhabitants for
 water, we found a Town not farre from the waters side, of a
 great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor na-
 ked Chappell or Oratory, such as small cost and charge might
 serve and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seemeth on-
 ly to make a shew, and that a false shew, contrary to the nature
 of a scarecrow, which feareth birds from coming nigh; this en-
 tiseth such as passe by to hale in, and look for commodity,
 which is not at all to be found there; though in the inner parts
 of the Island it be in great abundance.

For when we found the Springs and Wells which had been
 there (as appeareth) stopped up again, and no other water, to
 purpose to be had to serve our need, we marched up to seek
 some more convenient place to supply our want, or at least to
 see whether the people would be dealt withall, to help us there-
 in. In this travelling, we found the soile to be very fruitfull, ha-
 ving every where plenty of fig trees, with fruit upon most of
 them. But in the vallies and low ground, where little low cotta-
 ges were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then
 ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also trees, without
 any branch till the top, which bare the *Coco nuts*. There were
 also great store of certain lower trees, with long and broad
 leaves, bearing the fruit which they call *Plantanes*, in clusters
 together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All
 of these trees were even laden with fruit, some ready to be ea-
 ten, others coming forward, others over ripe. Neither can this
 seem strange, though about the middest of winter with us, for
 that the Sun doth never withdraw himself farther off from
 them, but that with his lively heat he quickneth and strength-
 neth the power of the soile and plants; neither ever have they
 any

any such frost and cold, as thereby to loose their green hew and appearance. 1574.

We found very good water in diverse places, but so far off from the road, that we could not with any reasonable paines enjoy it. The people would by no meanes be induced to have any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet & fruitfull vallie among the hils, where their Towns and places of dwelling were, gave us leave without interruption to take our pleasure in surviewing the Island, as they had some reason, not to endanger themselves, where they saw they could reape nothing sooner then damage & shame, if they should have offer'd violence to them which came in peace to do them no wrong at all. This Island yeildeth other great commodities, as wonderfull heards of goats, infinite store of wilde hens, & salt without labour (only the gathering it together excepted) which continually in a marvellous quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heate of the Sunne kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continuall traffique with their neighbours in the other adjacent Islands. We set saile thence the 30. day.

Jan. 30.

Being departed from *Maio*, the next day we passed by the Island of *Sain Jago*, ten leagues west of *Maio* in the same latitude, inhabited by the *Portugals* and *Moors* together. The cause whereof is said to have been in the *Portugals* themselves, who (continuing long time Lords within themselves, in the said Island) used that extream and unreasonable cruelty over their slaves, that (their bondage being intollerable) they were forced to seek some means to help themselves, and to lighten that so heavy a burden; and thereupon chose to flie into the most mountany parts of the Island: and at last, by continuall escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now live, with that terror of their oppressors, that they now endure no les bondage in mind then the *Forcados* did before in body: besides the dammage that they daily suffer at their hands in their goods and cattel, together with the abrid-

Jan. 31.

1577. ging of their liberties in the use of divers parts of the fruitfull soile of the said Island: which is very large, marvellous fruitfull (a refuge for all such ships as are bound towards *Brasill*, *Ginny*, the East Indies, *Binnny*, *Calecut*, &c.) and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore-recited, which hath much abated the pride, and cooled the courage of that people, who (under pretence of trafique and friendship) at first making an entrance ceased not, practising upon the poore Islands) the ancient remainders of the first planters thereof, as it may seem from the coast of *Guinea*) untill they had excluded them from all government and liberty, yea almost life.

On the South-west of this Island, we took a Portugall laden the best part with wines, and much good cloth, both linnen and woollen, besides other necessaries, bound for *Brasill*, with many Gentlemen and Marchants in her.

As we passed by with our fleet, in sight of 3. of their towns, they seemed very joyfull that we touched not with our coast; and seeing us depart peaceably, in honour of our fleet and Generall, or rather to signifie that they were provided for an assault, shot off two great peeces into the sea, which were answered by one given them again from us.

South-west from Saint *Jago* in 14. deg. 30. min. about twelve leagues distant, yet, by reason of the height seeming not above three leagues lyeth another Island, called of the Portugals *Fogo*, viz. the burning Iland, or fiery furnace, in which riseth a steepe upright hill, by conjecture at least six leagues, or eighteen *English* miles from the upper part of the water: within the bowels whereof, is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphure matter, seeming to be a marvellous depth, and also very wide. The fire sheweth it self but four times in an houre, at which times it breaketh out with such violence & force, and in such main abundance, that besides that it giveth light like the Moone a great way off, it seemeth, that it would not stay till it touch the heavens themselves. Herein are ingendred great store of grumice stores, which being in the vehement heat of the fire
caried

carried up without the mouth of that fiery body; fall down, with other grosse and slimy matter upon the hill, to the continuall increasing of the same. And many times these stones falling down into the sea are taken up and used, as we our selves had experience by sight of them swimming on the water. The rest of the Island is fruitfull notwithstanding, and is inhabited by *Portugals*, who live very commodiously therein, as in the other Islands thereabout.

Upon the South side, about two leagues off this Island of burning, lyeth a most sweet and pleasant Island, the trees thereof are alwaies green and faire to look on, the soile almost full set with trees, in respect whereof its named the brave Island, being a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as figs alwaies ripe, cocos, plantons, oranges, limons, cotton, &c. from the banks into the sea do run in many places the silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no convenient place or roade for ships, neither any anchroaching at all. For after long triall, and often casting of leads, there could no ground be had at any hand, neither was it ever known (as is reported) that any line would fetch ground in any place about that Island. So that the top of *Fogo* burneth not so high in the aire, but the root of *Brava* (so is the Island called) is buried and quenched as low in the Seas. The only inhabitant of this Island is an Hermit, as we suppose, for we found no other houses but one, built as is seemed for such a purpose; and he was so delighted in his solitary living, that he would by no meanes abide our coming, but fled, leaving behind him the relicks of his false worship; to wit, a cross, with a crucifix, an altar with his super-altar, and certain other Idols of wood of rude workmanship.

Here we dismissed the *Portugals* taken neere Saint *Jago*, and gave to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at *Mogadore*: wit wine, bread, and fish for their provision, and so sent them away, Feb. 1.

Having thus visited, as is declared, the Island of cape *Verde*,
and

1577. and provided fresh water as we could, the second of Feb. we departed thence, directing our course towards the Straights, so to passe into the South Sea; in which course we sailed 63. dayes
 Feb. 2. without sight of land (passing the line equinoctiall the 17. day
 Feb. 17. of the same moneth) till we fell with the coast of *Brasil*, the
 Apr. 5. fifth of *April* following.

During which long passage on the vast gulph, where nothing but sea beneath us and aire above us was to be seen, as our eyes did behold the wonderfull works of God in his creatures, which he had made innumerable both small and great beasts, in the great and wide Seas: so did our mouthes taste, and our natures fed on, the goodnes thereof in such fulness at all time, and in every place, as if he had commanded and enjoyned the most profitable and most glorious works of his hands to wait upon us, not alone for the relief of our necessities, but also to give us delight in the contemplation of his excellence, in beholding the variety and order of his providence, with a particular tast of his fatherly care over us all the while.

The truth is, we often met with adverse winds, unwelcome stormes, and to us (at that time) less welcome calms, and being as it were in the bosome of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sultring heat, not without the affrights of flashing lightning, and terrifyings of often claps of thunder; yet still with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water (having never at all watred (to any purpose, or that we could say we were much the better for it) from our first setting forth out of *England* till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conveniently water, till our coming to the river of Plate, long after) continually, after once we were come within foure degrees of the line on this side, viz. after. Feb. 10. and till we were past the line as many pegeres towards the South, viz. till Feb. 27. there was no one day went over us but we received some raine, whereby our want of water was much supplied.

This

This also was observable, that of our whole fleet, being now 1577. 6. in number, notwithstanding the uncouthnes of the way, and what ever other difficulties, by weather or otherwise we met withall, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest; except only our Portugall prise for one day, who *March 28.* was severed from us, but the day following *March 29.* she found us again, to both her own, and our no little comfort: she had in her 28. of our men, and the best part of all our provision for drink; her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole company, neither could she then have been finally lost, without the overthrow of the whole voyage.

Among the many strange creatures which we saw, we took heedfull notice of one, as strange as any; to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bigness and proportion, of a reasonable or middle sort of Pilchards: he hath finnes, of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the taile, bearing the forme, and supplying the like use to him, that wings do to other creatures. By the help of those fins, when he is chased of the *Bonito*, or great mackrel (whom the *Aurata* or dolphin likewise pursueth) and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, he lifteth up himself above the water, & flieth a pretty height, sometimes lighting into Boats or Barks as they saile along: The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finely set together, with a most thinne and dainty film, that they might seem to serve for a much longer or higher flight, but the dryness of them is such, after some 10. or 12. strokes, that he must needs into the water again to moisten them, which else would grow stiffe and unfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderfull creature is in a manner infinite, the fry whereof lyeth upon the upper part of the waters, in the heat of the Sun, as dust upon the face of the earth, which being in bignesse of a wheat straw, and in length an inch more or les, do continually exercise themselves in both their faculties of nature: wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not have continued, being so desired a prey to so many,

C

which

1578. which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the aire by flight, when they cannot in the waters live in safety. Neither are they always free, or without danger in their flying; but as they escape one evill, by refusing the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischief, by mounting up into the aire, and that, by means of a great and ravening foule, named of some a *Don* or *Spurkite*, who feeding chiefly on such fish as he can come by at advantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping above the same, presently ceaseth upon them with great violence, making havock, especially among these flying fishes, though with small profit to himself.

There is another sort of fish, which likewise flyeth in the aire, named a *Cuttill*: its the same, whose bones the Goldsmiths commonly use, or at least not unlike the sort, a multitude of which, have at one time, in their flight, fallen into our ships, amongst our men.

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternall God in the seas, as if we had been in a garden of pleasure. *April 5.* we fell with the coast of *Brazil*, in 3.1. deg. 30. mi. towards the pole Antartick, where the land is low neere the sea, but much higher within the countrey; having in depth not above 12. fathome, 3. leagues off from the shoare: and being descried by the inhabitants, we saw great and huge fires, made by them in sundry places. Which order of making fires, though it be universall, as well among Christians as Heathens, yet is it not likely that many do use it to that end, which the *Brazilians* do: to wit, for a sacrifice to Divels, whereat they intermix many and divers ceremonies of conjurations, casting up great heaps of sand, to this end, that if any ships, shall go about, to stay upon their coasts, their ministring spirits may make wrack of them, whereof the *Portugals* by the losse of divers of their ships, have had often experience.

In the reports of *Magellanes* voyage, it is said, that this people pray to no manner of thing, but live only according to the instinct of nature, which if it were true, there should seeme to be

be a wonderfull alteration in them, since that time, being fallen from a simple and naturall creature, to make Gods of Devils; but I am of the mind, that it was with them then, as now it is, only they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practise, which now they have: for then, they lived as a free people among themselves, but now, are in most miserable bondage & slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life it self to the *Portugals*, whole hard and most cruell dealings against them, forceth them to fly into the unfruitfull parts of their own land, rather there to starve, or at least live miserably with liberty, then to abide such intollerable hondage, as they lay upon them, using the aforesaid practises with Devils, both for a revenge against their oppressors, and also for a defence, that they have no further entrance into the country. And supposing in deed, that no other had used travell by sea in ships, but their enemies only, they therefore used the same at our coming: notwithstanding, our God made their divelish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling with this coast) forcible storms and tempests, yet did we sustain no damage, but only the separating of our ships out of shoare, but we could find no harbor in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, *April 7.* we had a violent storm, for the space of 3. houres, with thunder, lightning, and rain in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south wind, directly against us, which caused a separation of the *Christopher* (viz. the Caunter which we took at cape *Blank*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she hence forward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

April 7.

After this, we keep on our course, sometime to the seaward, sometimes toward the shoare, but alwaies southward, as neere as we could: till *April 14.* in the morning, at which time we passed by *Cape Saint Mary*, which lies in 35. deg. neere the mouth of the river of *Plate*: and running within it about 6. or 7. leagues along by the maine, we came to anchor in a bay,

April 14

1578. under another cape which our Generall afterwards called
Apr. 16. cape Joy, by reason of the second day after our anchoring
 here, the *Christopher* (whom we had lost in the former storm) came to us again.

Among other cares which our Generall took in this action, next the main care of effecting the voyage it self, these were the principall and chiefly subordinate: to keep our whole fleet (as neere as possible we could) together; to get fresh Water which is of continual use; & to refresh our men wearied with long toyls at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunity of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, & publique notice thereof given at our departure from the Islands of cape *Verde*; that the next randevouze both for the recollecting of our navy (if it should be despered) as also watering, and the like, should be the river of Plate: whether we were all to repaire with all the convenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arrive there altogether; and the effect we found answerable to our expectations, for here our severed ship (as hath been declared) found us again, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country here about is of a temperate and most sweet aire and pleasant to behold, and besides the exceeding fruitfulness of the soyle, its stored with plenty of large and mighty Deere.

April 16. Notwithstanding that in this first bay we found sweet and wholesome water even at pleasure; yet the same after the arrivall of *Caunter*, we removed some twelve leagues farther up into another; where we found a long rock, or rather Island of rocks, not far from the main; making a commodious harbor, specially against a southerly wind: under them we anchored, and rode till the 20. day at night; in which mean space we killed divers Seales, or sea-wolves (as the Spaniard calls them) which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to us for the present, and a good supply of our provision for the future.

Hence

Hence *April 20.* we waighed again and sailed yet further up into the river, even till we found but three fadome deep, & that we roade with our ships in fresh waters; but we staid not there, nor in any other place of the river, because that the winds being strong, the shoals many, and no safe harbor found, we could not without our great danger so have done. Hailing therefore to seaward again, the 27. of the same moneth (after that we had spent a just fortnight in that river, to the great comfort of the whole fleet) we passed by the south side thereof into the main. The land here lieth south, south W. and N. N.E. with shole water, some 3. or 4 leagues off into the sea: its about 36. deg. 20. min. and somewhat better south latitude.

1578.
*April 20**April 27.**April 27.*

At our very first coming forth to sea again, to wit, the same night our fly-boat the *Swan* lost company of us: whereupon, though our Generall doubted nothing of her happy coming forward again to the rest of the fleet; yet because it was grievous to have such often losses, and that it was his duty as much as in him lay, to prevent all inconveniences besides, that might grow, he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men unto less room; that both the fewer ships might the better keep company, & that they might also be the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of provision & men, one to ease the burden of another: especially, for that he saw the coast (it draweth now toward winter here) to be subject to many and grievous storms: and therefore he continued on his course, to find out a convenient harbor for that use; searching all that coast from 36. to 47. deg. (as diligently as contrary winds and fundry storms would permit) and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean time, viz. *May 8.* by another storm the *Caunter* also was once more severed from us. *May 12.* we had sight of land, in 47. deg. where we were forced to come to anchor in such roade as we could find for the time. Neverthelesse our Generall named the place *Cape Hope*, by reason of a bay discovery within the headland, which seem'd to promise a good and commodious harbor. But by reason of

1578. many rocks lying off from the place, we durst not adventure with our ships into it without good and perfect discovery beforehand made.

Our Generall, especially in matters of moment, was never wont to rely only on other mens care, how trusty or skilfull soever they might seem to be; but alwayes contemning danger and refusing no toyle, he was wont himself to be one whosoever was a second at every turn, where courage, skill, or industry was to be imployed; neither would he at this time intrust the discovery of these dangers to anothers pains, but rather to his own experience, in searching out and sounding of them. A boat being therefore hoised forth, himself with some others the next morning, *May 13.* rowed into the bay; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the country shewed himself unto him seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shook in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

But there was suddenly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fogge; together with an extream storm and tempest, that our general being now 3. leagues from his ship, thought it be better to return, then either to land, or make any other stay: and yet the fog thickned so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them, and if Cap. *Thomas* (upon the abundance of his love and service to his generall) had not adventured with his ship to enter that bay, in this perplexity, where good advice would not suffer our ships to beare in, while the winds were more tolerable, and the aire cleerer: we had sustained some great loss, or our generall had been further endangered, who was now quickly received aboard his ship; out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety: but our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremity of the storm, that they were forced to run off to the sea for their own safeguard, being in good hope only of the good successe of that ship, which was gone in to relieve our generall; before this storm

storm arose, our Caunter formerly lost, was come in the same 1578.
day unto us in the same roade, but was put to sea again the
same evening with the rest of the fleet.

The next day *May* 14. the weather being faire, and the *May* 14
winds moderate, but the fleet out of sight, our genera'l deter-
mined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of
fires, give signes to the dispersed ships, to come together again
into the roade : whereby at last, they were all assembled, ex-
cepting the *Swan*, lost long time before, and excepting our
Portugal prise, called the *Mary*; which waying in this last
storm, the night before, and now lost company, and was not
found again in a long time after.

In this place (the people being removed up into the country,
belike for feare of our comming) we found neere unto the
rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in divers other
places, great store of *Ostriches* at least to the number of 50.
with much other foule; some dried and some in drying for
their provision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of
their dwellings. The *Ostriches* thighees were in bignesse equall
to reasonable legs of mutton, they cannot flie at all; but they
run so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for
a man in running by any meanes to take them, neither yet to
come so nigh them, as to have any shot at them either with
bow or peece : whereof our men had often proof on other
parts of that coast, for all the country is full of them; we found
there the tools or instruments which the people use in taking
them. Among other means they use in betraying of these
Ostriches, they have a great and large plume of feathers, orderly
compact together upon the end of a staff; in the forepart beare-
ing the liknes of the head, neck, and bulk of an *Ostrich*; & in the
hinder part, spreading it self out very large, sufficient (being
holden before him) to hide the most part of the body of a man:
with this it seemeth they staulk, driving them into some strait
or neck of land close to the sea side; where spreading long and
strong nets, with their dogs which they have in readinesse at all
times,

1573. times they overthrow them, and make a common quarry. The country is very pleasant, and seemeth to be a fruitfull soyle.

Being afterwards driven to fall with this place again, we had great acquaintance & familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our coming, and in our friendship, in that we had done them no harm. But because this place was not fit or convenient harbor for us, to do our necessary business; niether yet to make provision of such things as we wanted, as Water,

May 15. Wood, and such like, we departed thence the 15. of May.

At our departure thence, we held our course South and by West, and made about 9. leagues in 24. houres; bearing very little saile, that our fleet might the easier get up with us, which by reason of the contrary winds, were cast a stern of us.

In 47. deg. 30. min. we found a bay, which was faire, safe, and beneficiall to us, very necessary for our use; into which

May 17. we haled, and anchored May 17. and the next day, May 18. we

May 18. came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full 15. dayes.

The very first day of our arrivall here, our generall having set things in some order, for the dispatch of our necessary business, being most carefull for his 2. ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward, Captain *Winter* in the *Elizabeth* vice-admiral; himself in the *Admiral*, going forth northward, into the sea, to see, if happily they might meet with either of them: at which time, by the good providence of God, he himself met with the *Swan*, formerly lost at our departure from the river of Plate, and brought her into the same harbor, the same day: where being after unloaden, and discharged of her freight, she was cast off, and her iron work, & other necessities being saved, for the better provision of the rest; of the remainder was made firewood, and other implements which we wanted. But all this while, of the other ship which we lost so lately, in our extremity, we could have no newes.

While we were thus employed, after certain dayes of our stay in this place, being on shoare in an Island nigh unto the
main,

main, where a low water was free passage on foote, from the one to the other; the people of the country did shew themselves unto us, with leaping, dancing, and holding up of their hands, and making outcries after their manner: but being then high water, we could not go over to them on foot. Wherefore the generall caused immediatly a boat to be in readines, and sent unto them such things as he thought would delight them; as knives, bels, bugles, and whereupon they being assembled together upon a hill, half an *English* mile from the waters side, sent down two of their company, running one after the other with a great grace, traversing their ground as it seemed after the manner of their wars, by degrees descending towards the waters side very swiftly. Notwithstanding drawing nigh unto it, they made a stay, refusing to come neer our men—which our men perceiving, sent such things as they had tyed with a string upon a rod, and stuck the same up a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it. And as soon as our men were departed from the place, they came and took those things, leaving in stead of them, as in recompence, such feathers as they use to weare about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a toothpick, carved round about the top, and in length about six inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our Generall, with divers of his Gentlemen and company, at low water went over to them to the maine.

Against his coming they remained still upon the hill, and set themselves in a rank, one by one; appointing one of their company to run before them from the one end of the rank to the other, and so back again, continually East and West, with holding up his Hands over his Head, and yeilding forward his body in his running toward the rising and setting of the Sun: and at every second or third turne at the most, erected his body against the midst of the rank of the people, lifting himself vaulting-wise from the ground towards the Moon, being then over our heads: signifying thereby, as we conceived, that they called the Sunne and Moon (whom they serve for

D

gods)

1578. gods) to witnesse, that they meant nothing towards us but peace. But when they perceived that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh unto them, they seemed very fearfull of our comming.

Wherefore our Generall not willing to give them any way any occasion to mislike, or be discomfited, retyred his company; whereby they were so allured, and did so therein confirm themselves of us, that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without all fear, divers came down with great speed after us, presently entring into trafique with our men; notwithstanding they would receive nothing at our hands, but the same must be first cast upon the ground, using this word, *zuffus* for exchange, *toytt* to cast upon the ground. And if they misliked any thing, they cryed *coroh, coroh*, speaking the same with rattling in the throat. The wares we received from them were arrows of reeds, feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

This people go naked, except a skin of furre which they cast about their shoulders, when they sit or lie in the cold: but having any thing to do, as going or any other labour, they use it as a girdle about their loyns. They weare their haire very long, but lest it might trouble them in their travell, they knit it up with a roll of *Ostrich* feathers, using the same rolls and haire together for a quiver for their arrows, and for a store house, in which they carry the most things which they carry about them. Some of them within these rolls stick on either side of their heads (for a sign of honour in their persons) a large and plain feather sheweth like horns afar off: so that such a head upon a naked body (if Divels do appeare with horns) might very nigh resemble Divels.

The whole bravery and setting out themselves standeth in painting their bodies with divers colours, and such works as they can devise. Some wash their faces with sulphure, or some such like substance: some paint their whole bodies black, leaving only their necks behind and before white, much like our Damosels that weare their squares, their necks and breasts
naked.

naked. Some paint one shoulder black, another white, and their 1578
sides and legs interchangeably with the same colours, one still
contrary to the other. The black part hath set upon it white
moons, and the white part black Suns, being the marks and
characters of their gods, as is before noted.

They have some commodity by painting of their bodies, for
the which cause they use it so generally: and that I gather to
be the defence it yeildeth against the piercing and nipping
cold. For the colours being close laid on upon their skin, or ra-
ther in the flesh, as by continuall renewing of these juices
which are layed on, soakt into the inner part thereof, doth fill
up the pores so close that no aire or cold can enter, or make
them once to shrink.

They have clean, comely, and strong bodies: they are swift
of foot, and seem very active. Neither is any thing more la-
mentable (in my judgment) then that so goodly a people, and
so lively creatures of God, should be ignorant of the true and
living God. And so much the more is this to be lamented, by
how much they are more tractable, and easie to be brought to
the sheepfold of Christ: having in truth a land sufficient to re-
compence any christian Prine in the world, for the whole tra-
vell and labour, cost and charges bestowed in that behalf: with
a wonderfull enlarging of a kingdome, besides the glory of
God by encreasing of the Church of Christ.

Its wonderfull to hear, being never known to Christians be-
fore this time, how familiar they became in short space with
us; thinking themselves to be joyned with such a people, as
they ought rather to serve, then offer any wrong or injury un-
to: presuming that they might be bold with our generall as
with a father, & with us as with brethren & their neer friends;
neither seemed their love lesse towards us. One of the chiefe-
st among them having on a time received a cap off our generals
head, which he did daily weare, removing himself but a little
from us, with an arrow pierced his legge deeply, causing the
bloud to stream out upon the ground: signifying thereby, how

578. unfainedly he loved him, and giving therein a covenant of peace: the number of men which here did frequent our company, were about fiftie persons. Within, in the Southermost part of this bay, there is a river of fresh water, with a great many profitable Islands; of which, some have alwaies such store of seales or sea-wolves as were able to maintain a huge army of men. Other Islands being many and great, are so replenished with birds and foule, as if there were no other victuals, a wonderfull multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with staves, and took some with our hands, from mens heads and shoulders upon which they lighted. We could not perceive that the people of the country had had any sort of boat or canow, to come to these Islands. Their own provision which they eat, for ought we could perceive, was commonly raw. For we should sometimes find the remnants of Seales all bloudy which they had gnawn with their teeth like dogs: They go all of them armed with a short bow of about an ell in length in their hands, with arrows of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastned.

This bay by reason of the plenty of Seals therein found (in so much that we killed two hundred in the space of one hour) we called *Seale bay*. And having now made sufficient provision of victuals and other necessaries, as also happily finished all our businesses, *June 3.* we set saile from thence; and coasting along towards the pole Antartick *June 12.* we fell with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two dayes spent in the discharging of our Caunter, the *Christopher*, which we here layed up.

The 14. day we waighed again, and kept on our course southward till the 17. and then cast anchor in another bay in 50. d. 20. min. lacking but little more then one degree, of the mouth of the *Straights*, through which lay, our so much desired passage into the south sea.

Here our generall on good advice determined to alter his course

course; and turn his stern to the Northward again, if happily God would grant we might finde our ship and friends whom we lost in the great storm, as is before said. Forasmuch as if we should enter into the Straight without them into our company) it must needs go hard with them; and we also in the mean time as well by their absence, as by the uncertainty of their state, must needs receive no small discomfort.

And therefore *June 18.* in the morning putting to sea again *June 18.* with hartly and often prayers, we joined watchfull industry to serve Gods good providence; and held on our purpose to run back toward the line into the same height, in which they were first dissevered from us.

The *19.* day of *June* toward night, having sailed within a few leagues of port St. *Julian*, we had our ship in sight: for which we gave God thanks with most joyfull minds. And forasmuch as the ship was far out of order, and very leake, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, as well before her loosing company as in her absence: our Generall thought good to bear into St. *Julian* with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place: intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them which had in their absence tasted such bitterneffe of discomfort besides the want of many things which they sustained.

Thus the next day the *20.* of *June* we entred port Saint *Julian*: which standeth in *49.* deg. *30.* mi. and hath on the South side of the harbor picked rocks like towers, and within the harbor many Islands, which you may ride hard aboard off, but in going in you must borrow of the North shoare.

Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our Generall with certain of his company, viz. *Thomas Drake* his brother, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winters*, *Oliver* the Master Gunner, *John Brewer*, and *Thomas Hood*) *June 22.* *June 22* rowed further in with a boate to find out some convenient place which might yeild us fresh water, during the time of our abode there, & furnish us with supply for provision, to take to

1578. sea with us at our departure. Which work as it was of great necessity, and therefore carefully to be performed; so did not he think himself discharged of his duty, if he himself bestowed not the first travell therein, as his use was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieving of our wants, and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supplying of what was needfull. Presently upon his landing he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom *Magellane* named *Patagous* or rather *Pentagours* from their huge stature, and strength proportionable: these as they seemed greatly to rejoyce at his arrivall, so did they shew themselves very familiar, receiving at our generals hands whatsoever he gave them, and taking great pleasure in seeing Master *Oliver* the master Gunner of the Admirall, to shoot an English arrow: trying with him to shoot at at length, but came nothing neere him.

Not long after, came one more of the same laste, but of a fowrer sort, for he, misliking of the familiarity which his fellows had used, seemed very angey with them, and strove earnestly to withdraw them, and turn them to become our enemies; Which our generall with his men not suspecting in them, used them as before: and one Mr. *Robert Winter*, thinking of pleasure to shoot an arrow at length, as Mr. *Oliver* had done before, that he which came last might have a sight thereof, the string of his bow brake; which, as before it was a terror unto them, so now broken, it gave them great incouragement, and boldness, and as they thought, great advantage in their treacherous intent and purpose; not imagining that our callivers, swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of war.

In which perswasion (as the generall with his company were, quietly without any suspition of evill, going down towards his boat) they suddainly being prepared, and gotten by stealth behind him, shot their arrows; and chiefly at him which had the bow, not suffering him to string the same again, which he was about to have done, as well as he could: but being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot, and turning
about,

about, was sped with an arrow, which pierced his lungs, yet he fell not. But the Mr. Gunner being ready to shoot of his calliver, which took not fire in levelling thereof, was presently slain outright. In this extremitie, if our general had not been both expert in such affaires, able to judge, and give present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himself into the dance, against these monsters, there had not one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore giving order that no man should keep any certain ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still upon the enemy, using their targets, and other weapons for the defence of their bodies, and that they should breake so many arrows, as by any meanes they could come by, being shot at them; wherein he himself was very diligent, and carefull also in calling on them, knowing that their arrows being once spent, they should have these enemies at their devotion and pleasure, to kill or save; and this order being accordingly taken, himself I say with a good courage and trust in the true and living God, taking and shooting off the same piece, which the same Gunner could not make to take fire, dispatched the first beginner of the quarrell, the same man which slew our Mr. Gunner. For the piece being charged with a bullet, and haile shot, and well aimed, tare out his belly and guts, with great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and horrible a roare, as if ten buls had joyned together in roaring, wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding, divers of their fellows and countrymen appeared out of the woods, on each side yet they were glad, by flying away to save themselves, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our general chose rather to depart, then to take further revenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loved dearly; and therefore would rather have saved him, then slain an hundred enemies; but being past recovery, he dyed the 2. day after his being brought aboard again.

That

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That night our Mr. Guaners body being left ashore, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our generall himself the next day, with his boate well appointed, returned to the shore, to fetch it likewise: which they found lying where it was left, but stript off his uppermost garment, and having an English arrow struck in his right eye.

Both of these dead bodies were laid together in one grave, with such reverence, as was fit for the earthen tabernacles of immortall soules; with such commendable ceremonies, as belong unto souldiers of worth, in time of war, which they most truly and rightfully deserved.

Magellane was not altogether deceived, in naming of them Giants; for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bignesse, and strength of body, as also in the hideousnesse of their voice: but yet they are nothing so monstrous, or Giantlike as they were reported; there being some English men, as tall as the highest of any that we could see, but peradventure, the Spaniards did not think, that ever any English man would come thither to repove them; and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie: the name *Pentagones, five cubits, viz. 7. foot and half*, describing the full height (if not some what more) of the highest of them.

But this is certain, that the Spanish cruelties there used, have made them more monstrous, in mind and manners, then they are in body; and more inhospitable, to deale with any strangers that shal come hereafter. For the loss of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conveighed over from one generation to another, among their posterity) breedeth an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten, with so quarrellsome & revengefull a people. Notwithstanding the terror which they had conceived of us, did henceforward so quench their heat, & take down their edge, that they both forgot revenge, and seeming by their countenance, to repent them of the wrong they had offered us, that meant them no harm, suffered us to doe what we would, the whole space of

two moneths after this, without any interruption or molesta- 1578.
tion by them, and it may perhaps be a meanes to breed a peace
in that people, towards all that may hereafter this, come that
way.

To this evill, thus received at the hands of Infidels, there was
adjoyned and grew another mischief, wrought and continued
closely among our selves, as great, yea far greater, and of farre
more grievous consequence then the former : but that it was,
by Gods providence, detected and prevented in time, which
else had extended it self, not only to the violent shedding of
innocent blood, by murtherring our generall and such others as
were most firm and faithfull to him: but also to the finall over-
throw of the whole action intended, and to divers other most
dangerous effects.

These plots have been laid before the voyage began in Eng-
land: the very modell of them was shewed and declared to
our Generall in his garden at *Plimmouth*, before his setting
saile, which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely, of
a person whom he loved so deerely, and was perswaded of to
love him likewise unfainedly, or thought by love and benefits,
to remove and remedy it, if there were any evill purposes con-
ceived against him.

And therefore, he did not only continue (to this suspected &
accused person) all countenance, credit, & courtesies, which he
was wont to shew and give him; but increased them, using him
in a manner as another himself, and as his most inmost friend:
lodging him with himself; giving him the second place, in all
companies, in his presence; leaving in his hand, the state as it
were of his own perion, in his absence; imparting unto him
all his counsells; allowing him free liberty in all things that
were reasonable; and bearing often at his hands great infirmi-
ties; yea, despising that any private injury, should breake so
firm a friendship, as he meant towards him. And therefore,
was he oftentimes not a little offended, even with those, who
upon conscience of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise

1578. they should indeed offend) disclosed from time to time unto him, how the fire increased, that threatned his own, together with the destruction of the whole action.

But at length, perceiving that his lenity and favours did little good; in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practises grew daily more and more, even to extremities; he thought it high time, to call these practises into question, before it were too late, to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch over him, and assembling all his Captains, and gentlemen of his company together; he propounded to them, the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will, and inward affection, more then brotherly, which he had ever, since his first acquaintance born him, not omitting the respect which was had of him, among no mean personages in *England*; and afterwards delivered the letters, which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time, which had been observed, not so much by himself, as by his good friends; not only at sea, but even at *Plimmouth*; not bare words but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his person.

Proofs were required and alleadged, so many, and so evident, that the Gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea many deaths; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principall Actor also, who was not a stranger or ill-willer, but a deare and true friend unto him: and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him; that he might not be compelled, to enforce his own hands, against his own bowels, or otherwise to become his own executioner.

The admiration and astonishment hereat, in all the hearers even those which were his neereſt friends, and most affected him

him was great, yea in those, which for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him: but yet the generall was most of all distracted; and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceale his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to give their judgements, as they would another day answer it unto their Prince, and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, above 40. in number, the chiefeſt in place and judgment in the whole fleet, after they had diſcuſſed diverſly of the caſe, and alledged whatſoever came in their mindes, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their own hands, under ſeale adjudged that: *He had deſerved death: and that it ſtood, by no means with their ſafety, to let him live: and therefore, they remitted the manner thereof, with the reſt of the circumſtances to the generall.*

This judgement, and as it were aſſize, was held a land, in one of the Iſlands of that port; which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the Iſland of *true juſtice and judgment.*

Now after this verdict was thus returned unto our generall (unto whom, for his company, her Majeſty before his departure, had committed her ſword, to uſe for his ſafety, with this word: *We do account that he which ſtriketh at thee Drake, ſtriketh at us*) he called for the guilty party, and cauſed to be read unto him, the ſeverall verdicts which were written, & propounded of him, which being acknowledged for the moſt part (for none had given heavier ſentence againſt him, then he had given againſt himſelf, our Generall propoſed unto him this choyce: *Whether he would take to be executed in this Iſland? or to be ſet a land on the main? or return into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Majeſties Counſell?*

He moſt humbly thanked the Generall for his clemency, extended towards him in ſuch ample tort: and craving ſome reſpit to conſult thereon, and ſo make his choyce adviſedly: the next day he returned this answer, that, *Albeit he had yeelded in his heart, to entertain ſo great a ſin as whereof now he was juſtly condemned: yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares,*

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to dye a christian man, that whatsoever did become of his clay body, he might remain assured of an eternall inheritance, in a far better life. This he feared, if he should be set a land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintain this assurance, feeling in his own frailties how mighty the contagion is of lewd custome. And therefore he besought the Generall most earnestly, that he would yet have a care, and regard of his soul; and never jeopard it amongst heathen and savage Infidels. If he should return into England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals: two of which though they were had, yet for the third, he thought no man would accompanie him, in so sad a message to so vile an issue, from so honourable a service. But if that there were, which could induce their minds, to return with him; yet the very shame of the return, would be as death, or grievous, if it were possible: because he should be so long a dying, and dye so often. Therefore he professed, that with all his heart, he did imbrace the first branch of the Generals proffer; desiring only his favour, that they might receive the holy communion, once again together before his death; and that he might not dye other then a Gentlemans death.

Though sundry reasons were used by many to perswade him to take either of the other wayes: yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted: and the next convenient day, a communion was celebrated, by *Mr. Francis Fletcher*, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The Generall himself communicated in this sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent Gentleman; who shewed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deeply displeased with his own act, then any man else. And after this holy repast, they denyed also at the same table together, as chearfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforetime: each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand.

After dinner, all things being brought in a readiness, by him that supplied the room of the provost Marshall; without any dallying

dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth, and kneeled 1578.
down, preparing at once, his neck for the axe, and his spirit for
heaven: which having done, without long ceremony, as who
had before digested this whole Tragedy, he desired all the rest
to pray for him, and willed the Executioner to doe his office,
not to feare nor spare.

Thus having by the worthy manner of his death (being
much more honorable by it, then blameable for any other of
his actions) fully blotted out, what ever stain, his fault might
seem to bring upon him; he left unto our fleet, a lamentable
example of a goodly Gentleman, who in seeking advancement
unfit for him, cast away himself: and unto posterity a monu-
ment, of I know not what fatal calamity, incident to that port,
and such like actions, which might happily afford a new pair
of parallels, to be added to Plutarchs: in that the same place,
neere about the same time of the year, witnessed the executi-
on of 2. gentlemen, suffering both for the like cause, imployed
both in like service, entertained both in great place, endued
both with excellent qualities, the one 58. year after the other.

For on the main, our men found a gibbet, fallen down, made
of a spruce mast, with mens bones underneath it, which they
conjectured to be the same gibbet, which *Magellane* comman-
ded to be erected, in the year 1520. for the execution of *John*
Carthagene the Bishop of *Burgos* Cosen, who by the Kings or-
der, was joyned with *Magellane* in commission, and made
his Vice-Admirall.

In the Island, as we digged to bury this gentleman, we found
a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took
and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at
the feet, building up the middle space, with other stones and
turfs of earth, and engraved in the stones, the names of the par-
ties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a me-
moriall of our Generals name in Latine, that it might the bet-
ter be understood, of all that should come after us.

These things thus ended, and set in order, our generall dis-

1578. charging the *Mary*, viz. our *Portugal* prise, beause she was leake and troublesome, defaced her; and then left her ribs and keel upon the Island: where for two moneths together we had pitched our tents. And so having wooded, watred, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other busineses, and brought our fleet into the smalest number, even 3. only, besides our pinna-ces, that we might the casier keep our selves together, be the better furnished with necessaries, and be the stronger mand, against whatsoever need should be, *August* 17. we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope, of a happy issue to our enterprise, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest & prospered, we set our course for the *Straights*, south west.

August 20. we fell with the Cape; neere which lies the entrance into the *Straight*, called by the *Spaniards*, *Capo Virgin Maria*, appearing 4. leagues before you come to it with high and steep gray cliffs, full of black stars, against which the sea beating, sheweth as it were the spoutings of *Whales*, having the highest of the cape, like cape *Vincent* in *Portugal*: at this cape our Generall caused his fleet, in homage to our soveraign lady the *Queens* Majesty, to strike their top-sailes upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind, to shew his dutiful obedience to her highnes, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery; and withall, in remembrance of his most honourable friend, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, he changed the name of the ship, which himself went in, from the *Pellican* to be called the *golden Hind*; which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giving of thanks for her Majesty, and most honorable counsel, with the whole body of the commonweale, and church of God, we continued our course on into the said frete, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a strait, as carrying with it much wind, often turnings, and many dangers, requireth an expert judgment in him that shall passe the same, it lyeth W. N. W. and E. south East; but having left his strait a stern, we seemed

seemed to become out of a river of two leagues broades, into a large and main sea; having the night following, an Island in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the Island *Vog*, before spoken of) burning (like it also) aloft in the aire, in a wonderfull sort, without intermission. 1578.

It hath formerly been received as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mover, from the east to west, have a continuall current through this straite, but our experience found the contrary: the ebbings and flowings here, being as orderly (in which the water rises and falls more then 5. fathoms upright) as on other coasts.

The 24. of *August* being *Bartholomew* day, we fell with 3. Islands, bearing trianglewise one from another, one of them was very faire and large, and of a fruitful soile, upon which being next unto us, and the weather very calm, our Generall with his Gentlemen, and certain of his Marriners, then landed; taking possession thereof in her Majesties name, and to her use, and called the same *Elizabeth* Island.

The other two, though they were not so large, nor so fair to the eye, yet were they to us exceeding usefull, for in them we found great store of strange birds, which could not fly at all, nor yet run so fast, as that they could escape us with their lives, in body they are less then a goose, and bigger then a mallard, short and thick set together, having no feathers, but instead thereof, a certain hard and matted down; their beakes are not much unlike the bills of crows, they lodg and breed upon the land, where making earths, as the conies do, in the ground, they lay their eggs, and bring up their young; their feeding and provision to live on, is in the sea, where they swim in such sort as nature may seem to have granted them no small prerogative in swiftness, both to prey upon others, and themselves to escape from any others, that seek to cease upon them, & such was the infinite resort of these birds to these Islands, that in the space of 1. day, we killed no les then 3000. & if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought, that the world hath

1578.

hath brought forth, a greater blessing in one kind of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully serving the use of man, they are a very good and wholesome victuall: our Generall named these Islands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day; the other *Saint Georges*, in honour of *England*, according to the ancient custome there observed.

In the Island of *Saint Georges*, we found the body of a man, so long dead before, that his bones would not hold together, being moved out of the place whereon they lay.

From these Islands, to the entrance into the south sea, the frete is very crooked; having many turnings, & as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by means whereof, we were often troubled with contrary winds, so that some of our ships recovering a cape of land, entring another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course, and come to anchor where they might. It is true which *Magellane* reporteth of this passage: namely that there be many faire harbours, and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be fraughted with nothing else, besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them, to come to anchor; which when any extreame gusts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is altogether subject) is a great hindrance to the passage, and carryeth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very high and mountainous, having on the North and west side the continent of *America*, and on the south and East part, nothing but Islands: among which, lye innumerable fretes or passages into the south sea. The mountains arise with such tops, and spires into the aire, & of so rare a height, as they may wel be accounted amogst the wonders of the world; environed as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds, and frozen meteors, whereby they are continually fed and increased, both in the height and bigness, from time to time, retaining that which they have once received, being little again diminished by the heat of the sun, as being so farre from reflexion, and so nigh the cold and frozen Region.

But

But notwithstanding all this, yet are the low and plaine 1578.
grounds very fruitfull, the grasse green and naturall, the heards
that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees for
the most part of them alwaies green; the aire of the tempe-
rature of our countrey; the water most pleasant; and the
soile agreeing to any grain which we have growing in our
country: a place no doubt, that lacketh nothing, but a people
to use the same to the Creators glory, and the encreasing of
the Church: the people inhabiting these parts, made fires as
we passed by in divers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the south sea, we had such a
shutting up to the northward, and such large and open fretes
toward the south, that it was wonderful which way we should
passe, without further discovery: for which cause, our Generall
having brought his fleet to anchor under an Island; himself
with certain of his Gentlemen, rowed in a boat to descry the
passage, who having discovered a sufficient way towards the
North, in their return to their ships, met a Cannow under the
same Island, where we rode then at anchor, having in her di-
vers persons.

This Cannow or Foate was made of the barke of divers
trees, having a prow and a stern standing up, and semicircle-
wise yeelding inward, of one form and fashion; the body
whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely
proportion, and excellent workmanship; insomuch as to our
Generall and us, it seemed never to have been done, without
the cunning and expert judgment of art, and that not for the
use of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of
some great and noble personage, yea of some Prince: It had no
other closing up or caulking in the seames, but the stichin with
thongs, made of Sealeskins, or other such beast, and yet so close
that it received very little or no water at all.

The people are of a meane stature, but well set and compact
in all their parts and lims; they have great pleasure in paint-
ing their faces, as the others have, of whom we have spoken:

1578. before. Within the said Island they had a house of mean building of certain poles, and covered with skins of beasts; having therein fire, water, and such meat, as commonly they can come by: as Seales, Mussels, and such like.

The vessels wherein they kept their water, and their cups in which they drink, are made of barks of trees, as was their canow: and that with no lesse skill (for the bignesse of the thing) being of a very formal shape and good fashion. Their working tools, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous mussel shels (the like whereof have not been seen or heard of lightly by any travellers; the meat thereof being very savoury and good in eating) which after they have broken off the thinne and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grinde them upon stones had for the purpose, til they have tempered and set such an edge upon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same: whereof we our selves had experience. Yea they cut therewith bones of a marvellous hardnesse; making of them fisgies to kill fish, wherein they have a most pleasant exercise with great dexterity.

Sept. 6. The sixth of September we had left astern us all these troublesome Islands, and were entred into the south sea, or *Mare del sur*: at the cape whereof, our generall had determined with his whole company to have gone a shoare, and there after a sermon to have left a monument of her Majesty ingraven in mettall, for a perpetuall remembrance, which he had in a readines for that end prepared: but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer us to make a stay.

Only this by all our mens observations was concluded; that the entrance, by which we came into this strait, was in 52. deg. the middest in 53. deg. 15. m. and the going out in 52. d. 30. m. being 150. leagues in length: at the very entry, supposed also to be about 10. leagues in bredth. After we were entred ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth: farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow: &

in the end found to be no strait at all, but all Islands.

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Now when our Generall perceived that the nipping cold, under so cruel a frowning winter, had impaired the health of some of his men; he meant to have made the more hast again toward the line, and not to sa le any farther towards the pole Antartick, lest being farther from the Sun, and neerer the cold, we might happily be overtaken with some greater danger of sicknesse. But God giving men leave to purpose, reserveth to himself the disposition of all things: making their intents of none effect, or changing their meanings oft times clean into the contrary, as may best serve for his own glory and their profit.

For September 7. the second day after our entrance into the South sea (called by some *Mare pacificum*, but proving to us rather to be *Mare furiosum*.) God by a contrary wind and intolerable tempest, seemed to set himself against us: forcing us not only to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and final separating of our fleet, to yeild our selves unto his will. Yea such was the extremity of the tempest, that it appeared to us as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his judgment till he had buried our bodies and ships also, in the bottomlesse depth of the raging sea.

Sept. 7.

In the time of this incredible storm, the 15. of September, Sept. 8 the Moon was eclipsed in *Aries*, and darkned about three points, for the space of two glasses: which being ended, might seem to give us some hope of alteration & change of weather to the better. Norwithstanding, as the ecclipticall conflict could adde nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease us any thing at all; nor take away any part of our troubles from us, but our eclipse continued still in its full force so prevailing against us, that for the space of full 52. days together, we were darkned more then the Moon by 20. parts, or more then we by any means could ever have preserved, or recovered light of our selves again, if the Sonne of God which layed

1578. layed this burthen upon our backs, had not mercifully borne it up with his own shoulders, and upheld us by his own power, beyond any possible strength or skil of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the feeling of great discomforts through the same.

For these violent and extraordinary flawes (such as seldome have been seen) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September* 30. in the night, caused the sorrow separation of the *Mari-gold* from us, in which was Captain *John Thomas*, with many others of our deare friends: who by no meanes that we could conceive could help themselves, but by spooming along before the sea. With whom albeit we could never meet again, yet (our generall having aforehand given order, that if any of our fleet did loose company, the place of resort to meet againe should be in 30. deg. or thereabouts, upon the coasts of *Peru*, toward the Equinoctiall) we long time hoped (till experience shewed our hope was vain) that there we should joyfully meet with them: especially for that they were well provided of victuals, and lackt no skilfull and sufficient men (besides their Captain) to bring forwards the ship to the place appointed.

From the seventh of *September* (in which the storm began) till the seventh of *October* we could not by any means recover any land (having in the mean time been driven so far South, as to the 37. deg. and somewhat better) on this day towards night, somewhat to the Northward of that Cape of *America*, (whereof mention is made before in the description of our departure from the strait into the sea) with a sorry saile we entered a harbour: where hoping to enjoy some freedome & ease till the storm was ended we received within few houres after our coming to anchor, so deadly a stroke and hard entertainment, that our Admirall left not only an anchor behind her, through the violence and furie of the flaw; but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our Vice-Amirall, the *Elizabeth*: partly through the negligence of those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in
her

her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home again: 1578. which (as since is known) they thence forward by all meanes assayed and performed. For the very next day *October 8.* reco- *Octob. 8.* vering the mouth of the straits again (which we were now so neere unto) they returned back the same way by which they came forward, and coasting *Brasil*, they arrived in England *June 2.* the yeare following.

So that now our Admirall if she had retained her old name of *Pellican*, which she bare at our departure from our country, she might have been now indeed said to be as a *Pellican* alone in the wildernesse. For albeit our Generall sought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not have any sight or certain newes of them by any meanes.

From this bay of parting of friends, we were forcibly driven back again into 55. deg. towards the pole Antartick. In which height we ran in among the Islands before mentioned, lying to the Southward of *America*, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath been declared. Where coming to anchor, we found the waters there to have their indraught and free passage, and that through no small guts, or narrow channels, but indeed through as large fretes or straits, as it hath at the supposed streights of *Megellane* through which we came.

Among these Islands, making our abode with some quietnes for a very little while, (*viz.* two dayes) and finding divers good and wholesome herbs together with fresh water: our men which before were weake, and much empaired in their health, began to receive good comfort: especially by the drinking of one herb (not much unlike that herb which we commonly call Penny-leaf) which purging with great facility afforded great help and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies. But the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner, yea every thing as it were setting it self against our peace and desired rest, there was no stay permitted, neither any safety to be looked for.

15-8.

For such was the present danger by forcing and continuall flaws, that we were rather to look for present death then hope for any delivery, if God almighty should not make the way for us. The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at liberty; or as if the clouds under heaven had been called together, to lay their force on that one place: the seas, which by nature and of themselves are heavy, and of a weighty substance, were rowled up from the depths, even from the roots of the rocks, as if it had been a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heat runneth together: and being aloft were carried in most strange manner & abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and lofty mountains. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gave over their holdfast, and as if it had been with horror of the thing, did shrink down to hide themselves in this miserable storm; committing the distressed ship and helpless men to the uncertain rowling seas, which tossed them, like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would availe us nothing; for being driven from our first place of anchoring, so unmeasurable was the depth, that 500. fathom would fetch no ground: so that the violent storm without intermission; the impossibility to come to anchor; the want of opportunity to spread any saile; the most mad seas; the lee shores; the dangerous rocks; the contrary and most intolerable winds; the impossible passage out; the desperate tarrying there; and inevitable perils on every side, did lay before us so small likelihood to escape present destruction, that if the speciall providence of God himself had not supported us, we could never have endured that wofull state: as being invironed with most terrible and most fearful judgments round about. For truly, it was more likely that the mountains should have been rent in sunder, from the top to the bottom, and cast hedlong into the sea, by these unnaturall winds; then that we, by any help or cunning of man, should free the life of any one amongst us.

Notwithstanding the same God of mercy which delivered

Jonas

Jonas out of the Whales belly and heareth all those that call 1572.
 upon him faithfully in their distress: looked down from heaven
 beheld our tears, and heard our humble petitions, joyned with
 holy vows. Even God (whom not the winds and seas alone,
 but even the Divels themselves and powers of hell obey) did so
 wonderfully free us, and make our way open before us, as it
 were by his holy Angels still guiding and conducting us, that
 more then the affright and amaze of this estate, we received
 no part of damage in all the things that belonged unto us.

But escaping from these straites and miseries, as it were
 through the needles ey (that God might have the greater glory
 in our delivery) by the great and effectuell care and travell of
 our Generall, the Lords instrument therein; we could now no
 longer forbear, but must needs find some place of refuge, af-
 well to provide water, wood, and other necessities, as to com-
 fort our men, thus worn and tyred out, by so many and so long
 intollerable toyls: the like whereof, it to be supposed, no tra-
 veller hath felt, neither hath their ever been such a tempest
 (that any records make mention of) so violent, and of such
 continuance, since *Noahs* flood, for as hath been said it lasted
 from *September 7.* to *October 28.* full 52. dayes.

Not many leagues therefore to the southwards of our for-
 mer anchoring, we ran in again among these Islands; where
 we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace: and so
 much the rather, for that we found the people of the country
 travelling for their living, from one Island to another, in their
 canows, both men, women, and young infants wrapt in skins,
 and hanging at their mothers backs; with whom he had tra-
 fique for such things as they had, as chains of certain shels and
 such other trifles; here the Lord gave us three days to breath
 our selves, and to provide such things as we wanted, albeit
 the same was with continuall care, and troubles to avoid im-
 minent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering winds
 did every hour threaten unto us.

But when we seemed to have stayed there too two long, we
 were

158 more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended, but now more violently renewed storm; and driven them also with no small dangers leaving behind us the greater part of our cable with the anchor; being chased along by the winds, and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas (which our Generall interpreted, as though God had sent them of purpose to the end which ensued) till at length we fell with the uttermost part of land towards the south pole, and had certainly discovered how far the same doth reach southward, from the coast of America aforementioned.

The uttermost Cape or headland of all these Islands, stands neere in the 56. deg. without which there is no main, nor Iland to be seen to the southwards: but that the Atlantick Ocean, and the south sea, meet in a most large and free scope.

It hath been a dreame through many ages, that these Islands have been a maine, and that it hath been *terra incognita*; wherein many strange monsters lived. Indeed it might truly, before this time, be called *incognita*, for howsoever the maps & generall descriptions of *Cosmographers*, either upon the deceptible reports of other men, or the deceitfull imaginations of themselves (supposing never herein to be corrected) have set it down, yet it is true, that before this time, it was never discovered, or certainly known by any traveller, that we have heard of.

And here as in a fit place, it shall not be a misse to remove that error in opinion, which hath been held by many, of the impossible return, out of *Mar del zur*, into the West Ocean; by reason of the supposed Eastern current, and leavant winds: which (say they) speedily carry any thither, but suffer no return. They are herein likewise altogether deceived: for neither did we meet with any such current, neither had we any such certain winds, with any such speed to carry us through; but at all times in our passage there, we found more opportunity to return back again into the west Ocean, then to goe forward into *Mar del zur*, by meanes, either of current, or winds to hinder

hinder us, whereof we had experience more then we wished: 1578.
 being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall a stern a-
 gain, with francke wind (without any impediment of any
 such surmised current) farther in one afternoon, then we could
 fetch up, or recover again in a whole day, with a reasonable
 gale. And in that they allege the narrownesse of the frete, and
 want of sea-rome, to be the cause of this violent current; they
 are herein no lesse deceived, then they were in the other with-
 out reason: for besides, that it cannot be said, that there is one
 only passage, but rather innumerable; it is most certain, that
 a sea-board all these Islands, there is one large and main sea,
 wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor believe the report of
 our experience and eyesight, he should be advised to suspend
 his judgment, till he hath either tryed it himself, by his own
 travell, or shall understand by other travellers, more particu-
 lars to confirm his mind therein.

Now as we were fallen to the uttermost part of these Islands
October 28. our troubles did make an end, the storm ceased, and *Octo 28*
 all our calamities (only the absence of our friends excepted)
 were removed, as if God, all this while, by his secret provi-
 dence, had led us to make this discovery; which being made,
 according to his will he stayed his hands, as pleased his majesty
 therein, and refreshed us as his servants.

At these Southerly parts we found the night, in the latter
 end of *October*, to be but 2. houres long: the Sun being yet
 above 7. degrees distant from the Tropick: so that it seemeth,
 being in the Tropick, to leave very little, or no night at all in
 that place.

There be few of all these Islands, but have some inhabitants,
 whose manners, apparel, houses, Cannows, and meanes of li-
 vings, is like unto those formerly spoken of, a little before our
 departure out of the *Straight*. To all these Islands, did our Ge-
 nerall give one name, to wit, *Elizabethides*.

After two daies stay, which we made in and about these I-
 lands, the 30. of *October* we set saile: shaping our course right *Octo. 30.*

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Northwest, to coast along the parts of *Peru* (for so the generall maps set out the land to lie, both for that we might with convenient speed, fall with the height of 30. deg. being the place appointed, for the rest of our fleet to re-assemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost, in the mean time to finde them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to us.

In this course, we chanced (the next day) with two Islands, being as it were store-houses, of most liberall provision of victuals for us, of birds; yeilding not only sufficient and plentiful stores, for us who were present, but enough to have served all the rest also which were absent.

Note. 1.

Thence (having furnished our selves to our content) we continued our course *November 1.* still Northwest, as we had formerly done, but in going on, we soon espied, that we might easily have been deceived: and therefore casting about, and steering upon another point, we found that the generall maps did erre from the truth, in setting down the coast of *Peru*, for 12. deg. at least to the Northward, of the supposed strait; no lesse then is the Northwest point of the compass, different from the Northeast, perceiving hereby, that no man, had ever by travell, discovered any part of these 12. deg. and therefore the setters forth of such descriptions, are not to be trusted; much lesse honored in their false and fraudulent conjectures; which they use, not in this alone, but in divers other points of no small importance.

We found this part of *Peru*, all alongst to the height of *Lima* which is 12. deg. South of the line, to be mountenous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certain places inhabited by the *Spaniards* and few others, which are very fruitfull and commodious.

After we were once again thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, til we came to the height of 37. deg. or thereabout: & finding no convenient place of abode, nor likelihood to hear any news of our ships, we ran off again with an Island, which lay in sight, named of the *Spaniards* *Mucho*, by reason

reason of the greatnesse and large circuit thereof.

At this Island coming to anchor, *Novem. 25.* we found it to be a fruitfull place, and well stored with sundry sorts of good things, as sheep, and other cattell, maize, which is a kinde of grain whercof they make bread, potatoes, with such other roots: besides that, it is thought to be wonderful rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the use of mans life. The inhabitants are such *Indians*, as by the cruel & most extreame dealing of the *Spaniards*, have been driven to fly from the maine, here to relieve and fortifie themselves. With this people, our Generall thought it meet to have traffique, for frew victuals & water: and for that cause, the very same night of our arrivall there, himself with divers of his company went a shoare, to whom the people with great courtesie came down, bringing with them such fruits and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheep, which they gave our Generall for a present. In recompence whereof, we bestowed upon them again many good and necessary things; signifying unto them, that the end of his coming was for no other cause, but by way of exchange to traffique with them for such things as we needed, and they could spare: and in particular, for such as they had already brought down upon us, besides fresh water, which we desired of them. Herein they held themselves well contented, and seemed to be not a little joyfull of our coming: appointing where we should the next morning have fresh water at pleasure, & withall signifying that then also they would bring us down such other things as we desired to serve our turns.

The next day therefore very early in the morning (all things being made ready for traffique, as also vessels prepar'd to bring the water) our generall taking great care for so necessary provision, repaired to the shoare again; and setting a land two of his men, sent with them their *Barricoes* to the watering place assigned the night before. Who having peaceably past on one half of the way, were then with no small violence set upon by these traitorous people, and suddenly slain and to the end that

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Nov. 25

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Sept. 30.

Oct. 3.

our generall with the rest of his company should not only be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had layed closely behind the rocks an ambushment of (as we guessed) about 500 men, armed and wel appointed for such a mischief. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boat, and the sea-gate exceeding great) by shooting their arrows hurt & wounded every one of our men, before they could free themselves, or come to the use of their weapons to do any good. The generall himself was shot in the face, under his right eye, & close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvellous way in, under *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life; besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head. The rest being nine persons in the boat, were deadly wounded in divers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not given cure to the same. For our chief Surgeon being dead and the other absent by the loss of our vice-admirall, and having none left us but a boy, whose good will was more then any skil he had, we were little better then altogether destitute of such cunning & helps as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding God, by the good advice of our Generall, and the diligent putting too of every mans help, did give such speedy & wonderful cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yeilded God the glory thereof.

The cause of this force and injury by these *Ilanders*, was no other but the deadly hatred which they bear against their civil enemies the *Spaniards*, for the bloody and most tyrannous oppression which they had used towards them. And therefore with purpose against them (suspecting us to be *Spaniards* indeed, and that the rather, by occasion that though command was given to the contrary, some of our men in demanding water, used the spanish word *aqua*, sought some part of revenge against us. Our generall notwithstanding he might have revenged this wrong with little hazard or danger, yet more desirous to preserve one of his own men alive, then to destroy 100. of his

his enemies, committed the same to God: wishing this only 1578.
punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had
wronged; and that they had done this injury not to an enemy
but to a friend; not to a *Spaniard*, but to an Englishman; who
would rather have been a patron to defend them, then any
way an instrument of the least wrong that should have been
done unto them. The weapons which this people use in their
wars, are arrows of Reeds, with heads of stone, very brittle and
indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

The same day that we receiv'd this dangerous affront, in the
afternoon we set saile from thence; and because we were now
nigh the appointed height, wherein our ships were to be look-
ed for, as also the extremity and crasie state of our hurt men
advising us to use expedition, to finde some convenient place
of repose, which might afford them some rest, and yeild us ne-
cessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet; we bent our
course, as the wind would suffer us, directly to run in with the
main. Where falling with a bay, called *Philips bay*, in 32. de. or
thereabout, Nov. 30. we came to anchor: and forthwith man-
ned and sent our boat to discover what likelihood the place Nov. 30
would offer to afford us such things as we stood in need of.

Our boat doing her utmost endeavor in a diligent search, yet
after long travel could find no appearance of hope for relief,
either of fresh victuals, or of fresh water: huge heads of wilde
buffs they might discern, but not so much as any sign of any
inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their return to us, they descryed
within the bay, an Indian with his Canow as he was a fishing:
him they brought aboard our generall, canow and all as he was
in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature: his apparel
was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees; his arms
and legs were naked; his haire vpon his head very long; with-
out a beard, as all the Indians for the most part are. He seem-
ed very gentle, of mild and humble nature, being very tracta-
ble to learn the use of every thing, and most gratefull for such
things as our Generall bestowed upon him. In him we might

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see a most lively pattern of the harmless disposition of that peoples and how grievous a thing it is that they should by any means be so abused as all those are, whom the *Spaniards* have any command or power over.

This man being courteously entertained, and his pains of coming double requited; after we had shewed him, partly by signs, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receive by his means, upon exchange of such things as he would desire; we sent him away with our boat and his own canow (which was made of Reed straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his return, was immediately met by two or three of his friends; to whom imparting his news, & shewing what gifts he had received, he gave so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose; so that after certain hours of our mens abode there, he with divers others (among whom was their head or Captain) made their return; bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would doe us good: as some hens, eggs, a fat hog, and such like. All which (that our men might be without all suspicion of all evill to be meant & intended by them) they sent in one of their canows, a reasonable distance from off the shoare, to our Boat, the sea-gate being at the present very great, and their Captain having sent back his horse, would needs commit himself to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to our Generall, without any of his own acquaintance or countrimen with him.

By his coming as we understood, that there was no meane or way, to have our necessities relieved in this place; so he offered himself to be our Pilot, to a place and that a good harbour, not far back to the Southward again: where, by way of traffique, we might have at pleasure, both water, and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our Generall very gladly received, and so much the rather, for that the place intended, was neer about the place appointed, for the
Rande-

Randevouse of our fleet. Omitting therefore our purpose, of 1575, pursuing the bufs formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible to have killed some; this good news of better provisions and more easie to come by, drew us away: and so the 5. day after our arrivall, viz. *December 4.* we departed hence, and the next day *December 5.* by the willing conduct of our new Indian Pilot, we came to a river in the defiled harbor. *Dece. 5.*

This harbor the *Spaniards* call *Valperizo*, and the town adjoining *St. James of Chinly*, it stands in 35. deg. 40. min. where albeit we neither met with our ships, nor heard of them, yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance: amongst other things we found in the town divers storehouses of the wines of *Chilie*; and in the harbor, a ship called the *Captain of Mariall*, or the *grand Captain of the South*, *Admirall to the Islands of Salamon*; laden for the most part, with the same kind of liquors: onely there was besides, a certain quantity of fine gold of *Baldizia* and a great cross of gold beset with *Emeraulds*; on which was nailed a god of the same mettall, we spent some time in refreshing our selves, and easing this ship of so leavy a burthen: and on the 8. day of the same moneth (having in the mean time, sufficiently stored our selves with necessaries, as wine, bread, bacon &c. for a long season) we set sail, returning back towards the line; carrying again our Indian pilot with us, whom our generall bountefully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him, by the way, to be landed in the place where he desired.

Our necessities being thus to our content relieved, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long severed from us: neither would any thing have satisfied our generall, or us so well as the happy meeting, or good news of them, this way therefore (all other thoughts, for the present set apart) were all our studies and enlavours bent,

1578. how to fit it so, as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed over.

To this end, considering that we could not conveniently run in without ship (in search of them) to every place where was likelihood of being in harbor; and that our boat was too little, and unable to carry men enough, to encounter the malice or treachery of the *Spaniards* (if we should by any chance meet with any of them) who are used to shew no mercy, where they may overmaster; and therefore meaning not to hazard our selves to their cruel courtesies; we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search diligently for some convenient place, where we might in peace and safety, stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which we might have better security, then in our boat, and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creek, leave no place untried, if happily we might so finde again our friends and countrimen.

Dec. 19. For this cause December 19. we entred a bay, not far to the Southward of the town, of Cyppo now inhabited by the *Spaniards*, in 29. deg, 30. min. where having landed certain of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conveniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there; we were immediately descried by the *Spaniards*, of the town of Cyppo aforesaid, who speedily made out 300. men, at least whereof 100. were *Spaniards*, every one well mounted upon his horse; the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heels, all naked and in most miserable bondage.

They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before there was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselves as they could; first from the main, to a Rock within the sea, and from thence into their boat: which being ready to receive them, conveyed them with expedition, out of the reach of the *Spaniards* fury, without the hurt of any man: only one *Richard Minizy*, being over bold and careless of his

his own safety, would not be intreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his own delivery: but chose either to make 300. men by outbraving of them to become afraid, or else himselfe to dye in the place; the latter of which indeed he did, whose dead body being drawn by the Indians from the Rock to the shoare was there manfully by the *Spaniards* beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluckt out, all which they carryed away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase, they caused the Indians to shoot it full of arrows, made but the same day, of green wood, and so left it to be devoured of the beasts and fowles, but that we went a shoare againe and buried it: wherein as there appeareth a most extream & barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world, in what miserable feare the *Spaniard* holdeth the government of those parts; living in continuall dread of the forreign invasion by strangers, or secret cutting of throats, by those whom they kept under them in so shameful slavery, I mean the Innocent and harmles Indians. And therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soever they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no means to have any weapon longer then they be in present service: as appeared by their arrows cut from the tree the same day, as also by the cred ble report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea they suppose they shew the wretches great favor, when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop tkeir naked bodies with burning bacon: which is one of the least cruelties, amongst many, which they usually use against that Nation and people.

This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired; we speedily got hence again, and Decem. 20. the next day, fell with a more convenient harbor, in a bay somewhat to the Northward of the forenamed *Cyp*.
lying in 27. deg. 55. min. South the line. Decem. 20.

In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ships, and building of our pinnace, as we desired: but still the grief for

1575.

the absence of our friends remained with us, for the finding of whom, our Generall having now fitted all things to his mind, intended (leaving his ship the mean while at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace and some chosen men, himself to return back to the Southwards again; to see if happily he might either himself meet with them, or find them in some harbor or creek; or hear of them by any others, whom he might meet with, with this resolution he set on, but after one dayes sayling, the wind being contrary to his purpose, he was forced whether he would or no to return again.

Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much unlike our Gurnard in England, as no place had ever afforded us the like (Cape blank only upon the coast of *Barbary* excepted) since our first setting forth of *Plymouth* untill this time, the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselves day by day, with 4. or 5. hooks and lines, in 2. or 3. hours, would take sometimes 400. sometimes more at one time.

Jan. 19.

All our busineses being thus dispatched, *January 19.* we set saile from hence; and the next place that we fel withall, *Jan.*

Jan. 22.

22. was an Island standing in the same height, with the north cape of the province of *Mormorena*, at this Island we found 4. Indians with their canows, which took upon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the aforesaid cape; in hope whereof, our generall made them great cheare (as his manner was to all strangers) and set his course by their direction, but when we came unto the place, and had travelled up along way into the land, we found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunk wine in their passage thither.

As we sayied along, continually searching for fresh water; we came to a place called *Tarapaca*, and landing there we lighted on a *Spaniard* who lay asleep, and had lying by him 13. bars of silver, weighing in all, about 4000. Spanish ducats, we would not (could we have chosen) have awaked him of his nap; but seeing we, against our will, did him that injury, we freed

freed him of his charg, which otherwise perhaps would have 1578.
 kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him)
 the other part of his sleep in more security.

Our search for water still continuing, as we landed again
 not far from thence, we met a *Spaniard* with an Indian boy,
 driving 8. Lambs or *Peruvian* sheep: each' sheep bare two
 leathern bags, and in each bag was 50. pound weight of re-
 fined silver, in the whole 800. weight: we could not indure to
 see a gentleman *Spaniard* turnd Carrier so; and therefore
 without intreaty, we offered our service, and became drovers:
 only his directions was not so perfect, that we could keep the
 way which he intended; for almost as soon as he was parted
 from us, we with our new kind of carriages, were come unto
 our boats.

Farther beyond this cape fore-mentioned lie certain Indian
 towns, from whence as we passed by, came many of the people
 in certain bawfes made of Seals skins; of which two being
 joyned together of a just length, and side by side, resemble in
 fashion or form of a boat: they have in either of them a small
 gut, or some such thing blown full of wind; by reason whereof
 it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small
 burthen. In these upon sight of our ship, they brought store of
 fish of divers sorts, to trafique with us, for any trifles we would
 give them: as knives, margarites, glasses, and such like, where-
 of, men of 60. and 70. years old, were as glad as if they had re-
 ceived some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple
 and plain dealing people. Their resort unto us was such, as
 considering the shortnesse of the time, was wonderful to us
 to behold.

Nor far from this, viz. in 22. deg. 30. min. lay *Aformorena*,
 another great town of the same people, over whom 2. *Spani-*
ards held the government, with these our generall thought
 meet to deale; or at least to try their courtelie, whether they
 would, in way of traffique, give us such things as we needed or
 no, and therefore Jan. the 26. we cast anchor here, we found Jan. 26.
 H 2 them

1578. them (more for fear then for love) somewhat tractable, and received them by exchange many good things, very necessary for our uses.

Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheep of the country (*viz.* such as we mentioned before bearing the leathern bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equal to a pretty cow, & their strength fully answerable if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Upon one of their backs did sit at one time three well grown and tall men, and one boy, no mans foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burthen in the mean time. These sheep have necks like Camels; their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheep. The *Spaniards* use them to great profit. Their wool is exceeding fine, their flesh good meat, their increase ordinary, and besides they supply the room of horses for burthen or travell: yea they serve to carry over the mountains, marvellous loads, for 300. leagues together, where no other carriage can be made but by them only. Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the countrey throughout the Province of *Cusko*, the common ground wheresoever it be taken up, in every hundred pound weight of earth, yeildeth, 25. s. of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce.

The next place likely to afford us any newes of our ships (for in all this way from the height where we builded our pin-nace, there was no bay or harbor at all for shipping) was the port of the town of *Arica*, standing in 20 d. whether we arrived the 7. of *February*. This town seemed to us to stand in the most fruitful soile that we saw all along these coasts: both for that it is situate in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile vally, abounding with all good things; as also in that it hath continuall trade of shipping, as well from *Lyma* as from all other parts of *Peru*. It is inhabited by the *Spaniards*. In two barks we found some forty and odd pounds of silver (of the big-

about 20. pounds) of which we took the burthen on our selves : 57 8.
to ease them, and so departed towards *Chowley*; with which we
fell the second day, viz. *Feb. 9.* and in our way to *Lima*, we
met with another Bark, *Ariguipa*, which had begun to loade *Feb. 9.*
some silver and gold, but having had (as it seemed from *Ari-*
ca by land) some notice of our coming, had unloaden the same
again before our arival. Yet in this our passage we met a-
nother bark loaden with linnen: some of which we thought
might stand us in some stead, and therefore took it with us.

At *Lima* we arrived *Feb. 15.* and notwithstanding the *Spa-*
niards forces, though they had 30. at that present in harbour *Feb. 15.*
there, whereof 17. (most of them the especiall ships in all the
south sea) were fully ready, we entred and anchored all night
in the midst of them, in the *Calao*: and might have made
more spoile amongst them in few houres if we had been affe-
cted to revenge, then the *Spaniards* could have recovered again
in many years. But we had more care to get up that compa-
ny which we had so long mist, then to recompence their cru-
ell and hard dealing by an evill requitall, which now we
might have took. This *Lima* stands in 12. deg. 30. minutes
south latitude.

Here albeit no good news of our ships could be had, yet
got we the news of some things that seemed to comfort, if not
to countervail our travels thither, as namely, that in the ship
of one *Mighell Angel* there, there were 1500. bars of plate, be-
sides some other things (as silks, linnen, and in one chest full
of Royals of plate) which might stand us in some stead in the
other ships; aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid our
selves welcome. Here also we heard the report of some things
that had befallen in & neer *Europe*, since our departure thence;
in particular of the death of some great personages; as the K.
of *Portugal*, and both the Kings of *Morocco* and *Teges*, dead all
three in one day at one battel: the death of the K. of *France*
and the Pope of *Rome*: whose abominations as they are in par-
ticular off from some Christian Kingdomes, where his name

1578. is manifest, so do his vassals & accursed instruments labour by all means possible to repaire that losse, by spreading the same the further in these parts, where his diuelish illusions and damnable deceivings are not known. And as his Doctrine takes place any where, so doth the manners that necessarily accompany the same, insinuate themselves together with the doctrine. For as its true that in all the parts of *America*, where the *Spaniards* have any government, the poysonous infection of Popery hath spread it self; so on the other side it is as true, that there is no City, as *Lima*, *Panama*, *Mezico*, &c. no Town or Village, yea no house almost in all these provinces, wherein (amongst other the like Spanish vertues) not only whordome, but the filthiness of *Sodom*, not to be named among Christians, is not common without reproof: the Popes pardons being more rife in these parts then they be in any part of *Europe*, for these filthinesses whereout he sucketh no smal advantage. Notwithstanding the *Indians*, who are nothing neerer the true knowledge of God then they were before, abhor this most filthy & loathsome manner of living; shewing themselves in respect of the *Spaniards*, as the *Scythians* did in respect of the *Grecians*: who in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behaviour did so far excell the wise and learned *Greeks*, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge.

But as the Pope and Antichristian Bishops labour by their wicked factors with tooth and naile to deface the glory of God, and to shut up in darknes the light of the gospels, so God doth not suffer his name and religion to be altogether without witness, to the reproofing both of his false & damnable doctrine as also crying out against his unmeasurable and abominable licentiousness of the flesh, even in these parts. For in this City of *Lima*, not two moneths before our coming thither, there were certain persons, to the number of twelve apprehended, examined and condemned for the profession of the Gospel, and reproofing the doctrines of men, with the filthy manners used in that City: of which twelve, six were bound to one stake

stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison to drink of the same cup within few days. Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certain rich ship, which was loaden with gold and silver for Panama, that he had set forth of this haven the 2. of February. Feb. 16.

The very next day therefore in the morning (viz. the 16. of the said moneth) we set sail, as long as the wind would serve our turn, and towed our ship as soon as the wind failed; continuing our course toward *Panama*, making stay nowhere, but hastening all me might, to get sight if it were possible, of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*. the great glory of the south sea; which was gone from *Lima* 14. dayes before us.

We fell with the port of *Taita* in 4. de. 40. m. Feb. 20. with Feb. 20. port Saint *Hellen*, and the River and part of *Guiaquil*, Feb. 24. Febr. 24. we past the line the 28. and first of *March* we fell with cape Feb. 28. *Francisco*: where, about midday, we descried a saile, a head of March 1. us, with whom after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about six dayes; to recover our breath again which we had almost spent with hasty following. and to recall to mind what advantages had past us since our late coming from *Lima*; but especially to do *John de Anton* a kindnesse, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was loaden.

This ship we found to be the same of which we had heard, not only in the *Calao* of *Lima*, but also by divers occasions afterward (which now we are at leasure to relate, viz. by a ship which we took between *Lima* and *Taita*: by another which we took loaden with wine in the port of *Taita*: by a third loaden with tackling and implements for ships (besides 80. pound weight in gold) from *Guiaquil*. And lastly, by *Gabriel Alvarez*, with whom we talked somewhat nearer the line) we found her to be indeed the *Cacafuego*: though before we left her, she were new named by a boy of her own the *Cacaplata*. We found in her some Fruit, conserves, sugars, meale & other victuals, &c. (that which was the especiallest cause of her heavy and slow sayling) a certain quantity of Jewels, and precious stones, 13. chests

1578. chests of Ryals of plate; 80. pound weight in gold; 26. tunne of uncoyned silver; two very faire gault silver drinking-bouls, and the like trifles, valued in about 360000. pezoës. We gave the Master a little linnen and the like for these commodities; and at the end of six dayes we bad farewell and parted. He hasting somewhat lighter then before to *Panama*, we plying off to sea, that we might with more leasure consider what course hence forward were fittest to be taken.

And considering that now we were come to the northward of the line (*Cape Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay *Panama*, in 1. deg. of North latitude) and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before us that way by any means; seeing that in running so many deg. from the southermost Ilands hitherto, we could not have any sign or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search, and careful enquiry after them, in every harbor or creek almost as we had done; and considering also that the time of the year now drew on, wherein we must attempt, or of necessity wholly give off that action which chiefly our General had determined: namely, the discovery of what passage there was to be found about the northern parts of *America*, from the south sea, into our own Ocean (which being once discovered and made known to be navigable, we should not only do our country good and notable service, but we also our selves should have a neerer cut and passage home: where otherwise we were to make a very long & tedious voyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we having been so long from home already, and so much of our strength separated from us) which could not at all be done, if the opportunity of time were now neglected: we therefore all of us willingly hearkned, and consented to our Generals advice: which was, first to seek out some convenient place, wherein to trim our ship, and store our selves with wood and water and other provisions as we could get: and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey, for the discovery of the said passage, through

through which we might with joy returne to our longed 1579.
homes.

From this cape before we set onward *March* the 7. shaping *March* 7.
our course towards the Island of *Caines*, with which we fell
March 16. settling our selves for certain dayes, in a Fresh river, *March* 16.
between the main and it; for the finishing of our needfull bu-
sinesse as is afore said. While we abode in this place, we felt a
very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such, that our
ship and Pinnace, riding very neere an English mile from the
shoare, were shaken and did quiver as if it had been laid on
dry land: we found here many good commodities which we
wanted, as Fish, Fresh water, Wood, &c. besides *Alagartoes*,
Munckeyes and the like, and in our journey hither, we met
with one ship more (the last we met with in all those coasts)
loaded with Linnen China-silk, and China-dishes, amongst
which we found also a Faulcon of gold, handsomely wrought
with a great Emerald set in the breast of it.

From whence we parted the 24. day of the moneth forena- *March* 24.
med, with full purpose to run the neereest course as the wind
would suffer us, without touch of land along times; and there-
fore passed by port *Papagais*; the port of the Vale of the most
rich and most excellent balmes of *Jericho*, *Quantapico*, and di-
verse others; as also certain gulphes hereabouts, which with-
out intermission, send forth such continuall and violent winds,
that the *Spaniards*, though their ships be good, dare not ven-
ture themselves too neere the danger of them.

Notwithstanding, having notice that we should be troubled
with often calms, and contrary winds, if we continued neere
the coast, and did not run off to sea to fetch the wind; and
that if we did so, we could not then fall with land again when
we would: our Generall thought it needfull, that we should
run in with some place or other, before our departure from
the coast; to see if happily we could by traffique, augment
our provision of victuals, and other necessities: that being at
sea, we might not be driven to any [great want or necessi-

1573. ties, albeit we had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.

The next harbor therefore which we chanced with, on *April* 15. in 15. de. 40. min. was *Guatulco* so named of the *Spaniards* who inhabited it, with whom we had some entercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread &c. And now having reasonably, as we thought provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of *America* for the present: but not forgetting, before we gate a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of royals of plate, which we found in the town: together with a chain of gold, and some other jewels, which we intreated a gentleman *Spaniard* to leave behind him, as he was flying out of town.

From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz. *April* 16. letting our course directly into the sea: whereupon we sailed 500. leagues in longitude to get a wind: and between that and *June* 3. 1400. leagues in all, till we came into 42. deg. of North latitude, where in the night following, we found such alteration of heat, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof; some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby, neither was it, that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it, not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all, for besides that the pinching and biting aire, was nothing altered; the very ropes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell, was an unnaturall and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone, then any way so neer unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seems indeed, to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun prevails not, for it came to that extremity, in sailing but 2. deg. farther to the northward in our course: that though sea-men lack not good.

good stomacks, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, 1578.
 whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep
 themselves within their coverts, from the pinching cold that
 did benum them. Neither could we impute it to the tender-
 nesse of our bodiesthough we came lately from the extremity
 of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the
 present cold in so much as the dead and senseless creatures, were
 as well affected with it as our selves, our meat as soon as it
 was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be
 frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in few dayes were
 grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able
 with them to perform, now six men with their best strength,
 and uttermost endeavour, were hardly able to accomplish:
 whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased upon the
 minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great mil-
 like, and doubting of any good to be done that way, yet would
 not our generall be discouraged, but as well by comfortable
 speeches of the divine providence, and of Gods loving care
 over his children out of the scriptures; as also by other good
 and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull
 example, he so stirred them up, to put on a good courage, and
 to quit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity,
 to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble, to obtain the
 greater glory; that every man was as thoroughly armed with
 willingnesse, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were pos-
 sible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of *America*, bearing farther out into
 the west, then we before imagined, we were neerer on it then
 we were aware; and yet the neerer still we came unto it, the
 more extremity of cold did sease upon us. The 5. day of *June*
 we were forced by contrary winds, to run in with the shore,
 which we then first descryed; and to cast anchor in a bad bay: *June 5.*
 the best road we could for the present meet with: where we
 were not without some danger, by reason of the many extream
 gusts and flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceased and

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were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission, there followed most vile, thick and stinking fogs; against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gulf of wind again removed them, which brought with them, such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for us; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us: and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under saile againe, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48. de. in which now we were to 38. we found the land by coasting along it to be but low and reasonable plaine: every hil (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in Iune, and the Sun in his neereſt approach unto them being covered with ſnow.

In 38. deg. 30. min. we fell with a convenient and fit harbor, rough, and *June 17.* came to anchor therein: where we continued till the 25. day of *July* following. During all which time notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so neere the Sun; yet were we continually visited with like nipping colds, as we had felt before: inſomuch that if violent exerciſes of our bodies, and buſie imployment about our neceſſary labors, had not ſometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us ſtill our winter clothes; yea (had our neceſſities ſuffered us) to have kept our beds; neither could we at any time in whole foureteen dayes together, find the aire ſo cleare as to be able to take the height of Sun or ſtar.

And here having ſo fit occaſion, (notwithſtanding it may ſeem to be beſides the purpoſe of writing the hiſtory of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently inquire into the cauſes of the continuance of the extream cold in theſe parts: as alſo into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a paſſage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touch-
ed)

ed) the tenderneſs of our bodies, coming ſo lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us ſo ſenſible of the colds we here felt: in this reſpect as in many others, we found our God a provident Father, and careful phyſitian to us. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts, to reſtore & Fortifie nature, had it been decayed or weakned in us: neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our Generall, who had often himſelf proved the force of the burning zone: whoſe advice alwayes prevailed much to the preſerving of a moderate temper in our conſtitutions: ſo that even after our departure from the heat, we alwaies found our bodies not as ſponges, but ſtrong & hardened, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of exceſs of heat, then a number of chamber companions could have been, who lie on their Feather beds till they go to ſea, or rather whoſe teeth in a temperate aire do beat in their heads at a cup of cold Sack and ſugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tenderneſs, but the very extremity of the cold it ſelf, that cauſed this ſenſibleneſs in us, may the rather appear in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for along ſeaſon familiar entercourſe, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with ſuch heat: to whom the country, aire, & climate was proper: & in whom cuſtome of cold was as it were a ſecond nature: yet uſed to come ſhivering to us in their warm furs, crowding cloſe together body to body, to receive heate one of another: and ſheltering themſelves under a lee bank if it were poſſible: and as often as they could, labouring to ſhroud themſelves under our garments alſo, to keep them warm. Beſides how unhandſome & deformed appeared the face of the Earth it ſelf, ſtanding trees without leaves, and the ground without green, in thoſe moneths of *June and July*. The poore birds and beaſts not daring (as we had great experience to obſerve) not daring ſo much as once to ariſe from their neſt after the firſt egg layed, till it with all the reſt be hatched, and brought to ſome ſtrength of nature, able to help it ſelf. Only this recompenſe

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hath nature afforded them, that the heat of their own bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many other places. As for the causes of this extremity they seem not to be so deeply hidden, but that they may at least in part be guessed at: the chief of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the *Asian and American* continent, which (somewhat northward of these parts) if they be not fully joyned, yet seem they to come very neer one to the other. From whose high and snow-covered mountains, the north and northwest winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphs, to the infecting of the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnes: not permitting the Sun, no not in the pride of his heat, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they have breathed out so nigh the Sun, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the north and north-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the north wind alone is in *August* and *September*; we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirm'd in the opinion thereof, by the continued observations of the *Spaniards*. Hence comes the generall squalidness and barraneness of the country; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth even from their very doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all; hence comes those thick mists and most stinking fogs, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sun striving to perform his naturall office, in elevating the vapors out of these inferiour bodies; draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea: but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting & opposing the Suns indeavor, forces him to give over his work imperfect: and instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest region, wandring upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea: through which its own beams cannot possibly pierce, unlesse sometimes when
the

the suddain violence of the winds doth help to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldomes, and when it happeneth, is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly been at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of north lat. who yet affirmed, that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of summers, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*. And also from these reasons we conjectured, that either there is no passage at all through these northern coasts (which is most likely) or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48. deg. yet found we not the land, to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually northwest, as if it went directly to meet with *Asia*: and even in that height when we had a franke wind to have carried us through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calm sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had there been a Frete: of which we rather infallibly concluded then conjectured, that there was none. But to return.

The next day after our coming to anchor in the aforesaid harbor, the people of the country shewed themselves; sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shore, and a great way from our ship, spake to us continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himself, he began more solemnly a long and tedious oration, after his manner: using in the delivery thereof, many gestures and signs; moving his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reverence and submission, returned back to shoar again. He shortly came again the second time in like manner, and so the third time: when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of *Feathers*, much like the *Feathers of a black crow*, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawn together into a round bundle, being very
clean

June 18.

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clean & finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another: a speciall cognizance (as we afterwards observed) which they that guard their Kings persons weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herb which they called *Tabah*. Both which being tyed to a short rod, he cast into a boat. Our generall intended to have recompenced him immediately with many good things he would have bestowed on him: but entring into the boat to deliver the same, he could not be drawn to receive them by any means: save one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he took up (refusing utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were upon a board put off unto him) and so presently made his return. After which time, our boat could row no way, but wondring at us as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

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The 3. day following, viz. the 21. our ship having received a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neer the shoar, that her goods being landed, she might be repaired: but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selves and goods: and that we might under the shelter of it, with more safety (whatsoever should befall, end our business; which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war, in defence of their country, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came down unto us, yet with no hostile meaning, or intent to hurt us: standing when they drew neere, as men ravished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they never had seen, or heard off before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship us as gods, then to have any war with us as with mortal men. Which thing as it did partly shew it self at that instant, so did it more and more manifest it self afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signs to lay from them

them there bowes and arrows, they did as they were directed 1578. and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing in a little while, to a great number both of men and women.

To the intent therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought, might without any cause of the breach thereof, on our part given to be continued; and that we might with more safety and expedition, end our businesses in quiet; our Generall with all his company, used all means possibly, gently to intreat them, bestowing upon each of them liberally, good and necessary things to cover their nakednesse, withall, signifying unto them, we were no gods but men, and had need of such things to cover our own shame; teaching them to use them to the same ends: for which cause also we did eate and drink in their presence, giving them to understand, that without that we could not live, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that we should be gods.

In recompence of those things which they had received of us, as shirts, linnen cloth, &c. they bestowed upon our generall, and divers of our company, diverse things, as Feathers, Cawls of network, the quivers of their arrows made of Fawns-skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of us, they departed with joy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and have from the uppermost brims of the circle, clefts of wood set up, and joyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a church: which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warm, the doore in the most part of them, performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion, like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground,

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only with rushes strewed upon it, and lying round about the house, have their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round and close, giveth a marvellous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part go naked, the women take a kind of bulrushes, and kembering it after the manner of hempe, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knit about their middles, hangs down about their hips, and so affords to them a covering of that which nature teaches should be hidden: about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services: yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents, or being called of the men.

As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort, that in the place where they left us (being neer about 3. quarters or an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration did heare the same: the women especially, extending their voices, in a most miserable and doleful manner of shrieking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour used towards us, we thought it no wisdom too far to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with us before, made us carefull to provide against an alteration of their affections, or breach of peace if it should happen) and therefore with all expedition we set up our tents, and entrenched our selves with walls of stone: that so being fortified within our selves, we might be able to keep off the enemy) if they should so prove) from coming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished we went the more cheerfully and securely afterward, about our other businesse.

Against the end of two dayes (during which time they had

not

not again been with us (there was gathered together a great 1579.
assembly of men, women, and children (invited by the report
of them which first saw us, who as it seems, had in that time,
of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make
known the newes) who came now the second time unto us,
bringing with them as before had been done, Feathers, and
bags of *Tobaks* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon
this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottome
whereof we had built our fort, they made a stand; where one
(appointed as their chief speaker) wearied both us his hearers,
and himself too, with a long and tedious oration: delivered
with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to
the uttermost strength of nature, and his words fall so thick
one in the neck of another, that he could hardly fetch his
breath again: as soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a
reverend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and
long producing of the same) cryed *oh*: thereby giving their con-
sents, that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they
had uttered their mind by mouth unto us: which done, the men
laying down their bowes upon the hill, and leaving their wo-
men and children behind them, came down with their pre-
sents; in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God in-
deed: thinking themselves happy, that they might have access
unto our generall, but much more happy, when they say that
he would receive at their hands, those things which they so
willingly had presented: and no doubt, they thought themselves
neerest unto God, when they sate or stood next to him: in the
mean time the women, as if they had been desperate, used un-
naturall violence against themselves crying and shrieking pi-
tiously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheeks,
in a monstrous manner, the bloud streaming down along their
breasts, besides spoyling the upper parts of their bodies, of
those single coverings they formerly had, and holding their
hands above their heads, that they might not rescue their breasts

1578. from harm, they would with furie cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were clean or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, pricking bushes, or what ever else lay in their way, iterating the same course again and again: yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15. or 16. times (till their strength failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for us to see, or suffer, could we have holpt it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to doe it.

This bloody sacrifice (against our wils) being thus performed, our generall with his company in the presence of those strangers fell to prayers: and by signes in lifting up our eyes & hands to heaven, signified unto them, that that God whom we did serve, and whom they ought to worship, was above: beseeching God if it were his good pleasure to open by some means their blinded eyes; that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him the true and everliving God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the salvation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of psalms, and reading of certain chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively; and observing the end of every pause, with one voyce still cryed, oh, greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they took such pleasure in our singing of psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaab*, by which they intreated that we should sing.

Our generall having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them again, none carrying with him any thing of whatsoever he had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happy, that they had found so free access to see us.

Against the end of three dayes more (the newes having the while spread it self farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the country) were assembled the greatest number of people, which we could reasonably imagine, to dwell within any con-

convenient distance round about. Amongst the rest, the King himself, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guards, of about 100. tall and warlike men, this day. viz. June 26. came down to to see us. 1579.

Before his coming, were sent tve Ambassadors or messengers, to our generall, to signifie that their *Hioh*, that is their K. June 25. was coming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voyce, prompting his fellow: the other pronounced the same word by word after him, with a voyce more audible: continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about half an houre. Which being ended, they by their signs made request to our General, to send something by their hands to their *Hioh* or King, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Our generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they glad men, made speedy return to their *hioh*. Neither was it long before their K (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his train came forward.

In their coming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards us, so did they more & more strive to behave themselves with a certain comlineffe and gravity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace (made of a certain kind of black wood, and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the King. Whereupon hanged two crowns, a bigger and a lesse, with three chains of a maveinous length, and often doubled; besides a bag of the herb *Tabah*. The crowns were made of knitwork, wrought upon most curiously with Feathers of divers colours, very artificiall placed, and of a formal fashion. The chains seemed of a bony substance; every kinde or part thereof being very little, thin, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of links going to make one chain, is in a manner infinite: but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are ad-

1579. ted to weare the same: and even they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall use; as some ten, some twelve, some 20. and as they exceed in number of chains, so are they thereby known to be the more honourable personages.

Next unto him that bare this Scepter, was the King himself with his guard about him: his attire upon his head was a cawl or knitwork, wrought upon somewhat like the crown, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of work, upon his shoulders he had on a coat of the skins of conies, reaching to his waist: his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins, some having cawls likewise such with feathers, or covered over with a certain down, which groweth up in the country upon an herb much like our lectruce; which exceeds any other down in the world for finenesse, and being layed upon their cawls by no winds can be removed: of such estimation is this herb amongst them, that the down thereof is not lawfull to be worn, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of Feathers on their heads in sign of honour) and the feathers not used but only in sacrifice to their gods. After these in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose hair being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stuck plumes or Feathers, but in the forepart only single Feathers like horn, ever one pleasing himself in his own device.

This one thing was observed, to be generall amongst them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some with black, and some with other colors, every man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a present: their train or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her brest a round basket or two, having with them divers things, as bags of *Tabah*, a root which they call *Petah*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either beake it into bread, or cate it raw; broyled fishes like a pilchard; the seed and down afore named, with such like.

Their

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and 1579. though the matter were rushes or such other kind of stuff, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brims they were langed with pieces of the shels of pearls, and in some places with two or three links at a places of the chains forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely use of the gods they worshiped: and besides this, they were wrought upon with the matted down of red Feathers, distinguished into divers works and forms.

In the mean time our Generall having assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger, and worst that might fall out) prepared himself to stand upon sure ground, that we might at all times be ready in our own defence, if any thing should chance otherwise then was looked for or expected.

Wherefore every man being in a warlike readines, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort) whereby if they had been desperat enemies, they could not have chosen, but have conceived error and feare, with discouragement to attempt any thing against us, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere unto us, trooping together, they gave us a common or a generall salutation: observing in the mean time a generall silence. Whereupon he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the King assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice, what the other spake to him in secret: continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least half an houre. At the close whereof, there was a common *Amen*, in sign of approbation given by every person: and the King himself with the whole number of men and women, the little children only remaining behind, came further down the hill, and as they came set themselves again in their former order,

And

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And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter-bearer with a composed countenance and stately carriage, began a song, and answerable thereunto, observed a kind of measures in a danc: whom the Ki. with his guards, and every sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, saving only the woman who danced but kept silence. As they daunced they still came on: and our Generall perceiving their plain and simple meaning, gave order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwark: where after they had entred, they yet continued their song, and daunce a reasonable time: their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torn, their dugs, breast, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling down from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their coming.

After that they had satisfied or rather tyred themselves in this manner, they made signs to our generall to have him sit down: unto whom, both the king and divers others made severall orations, or rather indeed if we had understood them, supplications, that he would take the province and kingdome into his hand, and become their King and patron: making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and his posterities: which that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent: the King himself with all the rest with one consent, and with a great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head: enriched his neck with all their chains: and offering unto him many other things honoured him by the name of *Hyoh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seem) a song and a daunce of triumph: because they were not only visited of gods (for so they still judged us to be) but the great and chief god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in all the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought
not

not meet to reject or refuse the same: both for that we would not give them any cause of mistrust, or disliking of him (that being the only place, wherein at this present we were of necessity inforced to seek relief of many things) and chiefly, for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour or profit it might bring to our country in time to come.

Wherefore in the name and to the use of her most excellent Majesty, he took the Scepter, Crown and dignity of the said country into his hand: wishing nothing more then that it had layen so fitly for her Majesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper own, and that the riches and treasure thereof (wherewith in the up-land countries it abounds) might with as great conveniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there: and especially, that so tractable and loving a people, as they shewed themselves to be, might have meanes to have manifested their most willing obedience the more under her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the gospel be brought to the right knowledge, and obedience of the true and ever living God.

The ceremonies of this resigning, and receiving of the kingdome, being thus performed, and the common sort both of men and women, leaving the king and his guard about him, with our generall, disperied themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or survey of every man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of us) they presently enclosing them about, offered their sacrifices unto them, crying out with lamentable shrieks and moanes, weeping and scratching, and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes, neither were it the woman alone which did this, but even old men, roaring, and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so far prevailed, in seducing these so harmlesse soules, and laboured by all

1579. means, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serv'd not, by violent withholding of their hands; from that madness, directing them (by our eyes and hands, lift up towards heaven) to the living God whom they ought to serve: but so mad were they upon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not prevaile (for as soon as they could get liberty to their hands again, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshiped, were conveyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury & outrage seek to have again.

After that time had a little qualified their madness, they then began to shew & make known unto us their griefs & diseases which they carryed about them, some of them having old aches, some shrunk sinews, some old sores and cankered ulcers, some wounds more lately received, and the like, in most lamentable manner craving help and cure thereof from us: making signs, that if we did but blow upon their griefs, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefs we could not but take pitty on them, and to our own desire to help them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might understand we were but men and no gods, we used ordinary means, as lotions, emplaisters, and unguents most fitly (as far as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefs, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to give cure to their diseases by these means. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to us.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from us, during the whole time of our abode in that place: and ordinarily every third day, they brought their sacrifices, till such time, as they certainly understood our meaning, that we took no pleasure, but were displeased with them: whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased: notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort unto us in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-times forgot, to provide meate for their own sustenance: so

that

that our generall (of whom they made account as of a father) 1579
was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieving them with such victuals as we had provided for our selves, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they took exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to us, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence us, with such things as they had, which they willingly enforced upon us, though it were never so necessary or needfull for themselves to keep.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bows and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use use very skillfully, but yet not do any great harm with them, being by reason of their weakeness, more fit for children then for men, sending the arrow far off, nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that which 2. or 3. of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take upon his back, and without grudging carry it easily away, up hill and down hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuances, the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part run. One thing we observed in them with admiration: that if any time, they chanced to see a fish so neer the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would seldome, or never misse to take it.

After that our necessary busineses were wel dispatched, our generall with his gentlemen, and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature & commodities of the country: their houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made severall villages here and there. The inland we found to be far different from the shoare, a goodly country and fruitful soil, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deers, which there we saw

1579. by thousands as we supposed in a herd: besides a multitude of a strange kind of conies, by far exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his taile like the taile of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like paws of a Want or Moale; under his chin, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belley abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himself, when he lists not to travaile from his burrow: the people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their Kings holidayes coat was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea: the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our generall caused to be set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesties, and successors right and title to that kingdome, namely, a plate of brasle, fast nailed to a great and firm post: whereon is engraven her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arrivall there, and of the free giving up, of the province and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her Majesties hands: together with her highnesse picture, and arms in a piece of sixpence currant English money, shewing it self by a hole made of purpose through the place: underneath was likewise engraven the name of our Generall, &c.

The *Spaniards* never had any dealing, or so much as set a foot in this country: the utmost of their discourses, reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrows and miseries of this people, seem to themselves to increase upon them; and the more certain they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselves, what they might doe; so that we might easily

fily judg that that joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrivall, was clean drown'd in their excessive sorrow for our departing: for they did not only loose on a suddain all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoycing one with another, and all pleasure whotever flesh and bloud might be delighted in, but with sighs and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they only accounted themselves as castawaies, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or doe, was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a strait, as our leaving of them did seem to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit seeing they could not still injoy our presence, they (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreat us that being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires, that in time to come we would see them again, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on fire ere we were aware: burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not prevaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalms, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to goe out, and imitating us in all our actions: they fell a lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven as they saw us doe.

The 23. of *July* they took a sorrowfull farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presenly ran to the tops of the hills to keep us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices to our departure.

Not far without this harborough, bidlye certain Islands (we called them the Islands of Saint *James*) having on them plentiful

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July 24. A rifull and great store of Seals and birds, with one of which we
 fell, *July 24.* whereupon we found such provision as might
July 25. competently serve our turn for a while: we departed again the
 day next following, *viz. July 25.* And our Generall now con-
 sidering, that the extremity of the cold not only continued
 but increased, the Sun being gone father from us, and that the
 wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the northwest, cut
 off all of finding a passage through the northern parts, thought
 it necessary to loose no time; and therefore with generall con-
 sent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Islands
 of the *Moluccas*. And so having nothing in our view but aire
 and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68. days
 together, we continued our course through the main Ocean,
Sept. 30. till September 30. following, on which day we fell in kenne of
 certain Islands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward
 of the line.

From these Islands presently upon the discovery of us, came
 a great number of canows, having each of them in some
 foure, in some six, in some foureteen or fifteen men, bringing
 with them Coquos, fish, Potatoes, and certain fruits to small
 purpose.

These canows were made after the fashion, that the canows
 of all the rest of the Islands of *Moluccas* for the most part are:
 that is, of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning
 being made so smooth both within and without, that they
 bore a glasse, as if it were a harnesse most finely burnished: a
 prow and stern they had of one fashion, yeilding inward in
 manner of a semicircle, of a great height, and hanged full of
 certain white and gistering shels for bravery: on each side of
 their canows, lay out two pieces of Timber about a yard and
 half long, more or less according to the capacity of their boat.
 At the ends whereof was fastned crosswise a great cane, the
 use whereof was to keep their canows from overthrowing,
 and that they might be equally born up on each side.

The people themselves have the neather parts of their ears

cut round or circlewise, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight: the nails on the fingers of some of them, were at least an inch long and their teeth as black as pitch: the colour whereof they use to renew by often eating of an herb, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carry about them for the same purpose. The first sort & company of those canows being come to our ship (which then by reason of a scant wind made a little way) very subtilly and against their natures, began in peace to traffique with us, giving us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceived, hereby to work a greater mischief to us: intreating us by signs most earnestly to draw neerer towards the shoare, that they might (if possible) make the easier prey both of the ship and us. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, we were quickly able to guesse at them what they were: for if they received any thing once into their hands, they would neither give recompence nor restitution of it, but thought what ever they could finger to be their own: expecting alwaies with brows of brasse to receive more, but would part with nothing: yea being rejected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would have no more to do: using us so evilly, they could not be satisfied till they had given the attempt to revenge themselves, because we would not give them whatsoever they would have for nothing: and having stones good store in their canows, let flie a many of them against us. It was far from our Generals meaning to requite their malice by like injury. Yet that they might know he had power to do them harm (if he had listed) he caused a great peece to be shot off, not to hurt them but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof, they every own leaped out of his canow into the water, and diving under the keele of their boats, stayed them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recovered into their canows, and got them with speed toward the shoare.

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Notwithstanding other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort upon vs. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence they put on a shew of seeming honesty, and offering in shew to deale with vs by way of exchange; under that pretence they cunningly fell a filching of what they could, and one of them puld a dagger & knives from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it again, he rather used what meanes he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be rid of this ungracious company, till we made some of them feeble some smart as well as terror: and so we left that place by all passengers to bee known hereafter by the name of the *Island of Theeves*.

- October 3. Till the 3. of October we could not get cleere of these comforts, but from thence we continued our course without sight of land till the 16. of the same moneth, when we fell with
 October 16. foure Islands standing in 7. de. 5. mi. to the northward of the
 October 21. line. We coasted them till the 21. day, and then anchored and
 October 22. watered upon the biggest of them called *Mindanao*. The 22. of October as we past between 2. Islands, about six or eight leagues south of *Mindanao*, there came from thence two can-
 nows to have talked with us, and we would willingly have talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put us
 October 25. from them to the southwards. October 25. we passed by the Island named *Talao*, in 3. deg. 40. min. we saw to the North-
 October 30. ward of it three or foure other Islands, *Teda*, *Selan*, *Saran*, (3. Islands so named to us by an *Indian*) the middle whereof stands
 November 1. in 3. deg. we past the last save one of these, and 1. day of the following moneth in like manner, we past the Isle *Suaro*, in 1.
 November 3. deg. 30. mi. and the 3. of November we came in sight of the Islands of the *Moluccaes* as we desired.

These are foure high picked Islands, their names, *Tirenate*, *Tidore*, *Matchan*, *Batchan*, all of them very fruitfull, and yeilding abundance of Cloves, whereof we furnished our selves of as much as we desired at very cheap rate. At the East of them lyes a very great Island called *Gillola*.

We

We directed our course to have gone to *Tidore*, but in coasting along a little Island belonging to the King of *Terenate*, November 4. his Deputy or Viceroy with all expedition came off to our Ship in a Canow, and without any fear or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who after some conference with our Generall, intreated him by any meanes to runne with *Terenate*, not with *Tidore*, assuring him that his King would be wondrous glad of his comming, and be ready to doe for him what he could, and what our Generall in reason should require: For which purpose he himselfe would that night be with his King to carry him the news: with whom if he once dealt, he should find, that as he was a King so his word should stand; whereas if he dealt with the *Portugals* (who had the command of *Tidore*) he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Terenate*, then would his King have nothing to doe with us, for he held the *Portugall* as an Enemy. On these perswasions our Generall resolved to run with *Terenate*, where the next day very early in the morning we came to anchor: And presently, our General sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak for a present and token that his comming should be in peace: and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his Victuals being spent in so long a Voyage) he might have supply from him by way of traffique and exchange of Merchandise (wherof he had store of divers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawfull, and that he offered him no prejudice or wrong therein, as also because he was entreated to repaire to that place by his Viceroy at *Mutir*, who assured him of necessary provision in such manner as now he required the same.

Before this, the Viceroy according to his promise had been with the King, signifying unto him what a mighty Prince and Kingdome we belonged unto, what good things the King might receive from us, not onely now; but for hereafter by way of

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traffique; yea what honour and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and friendship with so noble and famous a Prince as we served: And farther what a discouragement it would be to the *Portugals* his Enemies to hear and see it. In hearing whereof the King was so presently moved to the well liking of the matter, that before our Messenger could come half the way, he had sent the Viceroy with divers others of his Nobles and Councillors to our Generall, with speciall message that he should not only have what things he needed, or would require with peace and friendship, but that he would willingly entertaine amity with so famous and renowned a Prince as was ours, and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffique of his whole Island from others, especially from his enemies the *Portugals* (from whom he had nothing but by the Sword) and reserve it to the entercourse of our Nation, if we would embrace it: In token whereof he had now sent to our Generall his Signet, and would within short time after, come in his owne person with his brethren and Nobles with Boates or Canows into our Ship, and be a meanes of bringing her into a safer Harbour.

While they were delivering their message to us, our Messenger was come unto the Court, who being met by the way by certaine noble personages, was with great solemnity conveyed into the Kings presence; at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained, and having delivered his errand together with his present unto the King, the King seemed to him to judge himselfe blame-worthy that he had not sooner hastened in person to present himselfe to our Generall, who came so far and from so great a Prince; And presently with all expedition, he made ready himselfe with the chiefe of all his States and Councillors to make repair unto us.

The manner of his coming as it was Princely, so truly it seemed to us very strange and marvelous; serving at the present not so much to set out his owne royall and kingly state (vvhich vvas great) as to do honour to her Highnesse to vvhom vve belonged
vvherein

wherein howv vwillingly he imployed himselfe, the Sequel vwill make manifest. 1579.

First therefore, before his coming, did he send off three great and large Canovves, in each vwhereof, were certain of the greatest personaegs that vwere about him, attired all of them in white Lavvn, or cloth of Calecut, having over their heads, from one end of the Canovv to the other, a covering of thin and fine mats, born up by a frame made of Reeds, under vvhich every man sat in order according to his dignity; the hoary heads of many of them, set forth the greater reverence due to their persons, and manifestly shewed, that the King used the advise of a grave and prudent Counsell in his affaires. Besides these, were divers others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white as were the other, but with manifest differences: having their places also under the same covering, but in inferior order, as their calling required.

The rest of the men were Souldiers, who stood in comely order round about on both sides; on the outside of whom, againe did sit the rowers in certain galleries, which being three on each side all alongst the Canow, did lie off from the side therof, some three or four Yards, one being orderly builded lower then the other: in every of vvhich Galleries vvas an equall number of Barcks, vwhereon did sit the Rowers, about the number of four-score in one Canow: In the forepart of each Canow, sat two men, the one holding a Tabret, the other a peece of Brasse, whereon they both at once stroke; and observing a due time and reasonable space betweene each stroke, by the sound thereof, directed the Rowers to keepe their stroke with their Oares; as on the contrary, the Rowers ending their stroke with a song, gave warning to the others to strike againe; and so continued they their way with marvelous swiftnesse: neither were their Canows naked or unfurnished of warlike munition, they had each of them, at least one small cast piece of about a yard in length mounted upon a stock, which was set upright; besides every man except the Rowers, had his Sword, Dagger, and Target,

and some of them some other weapons, as Lances, Callivers, Bowes, Arrows, and many Darts.

These Canowes comming neere our Ship in order, rowed round about us one after another; and the men as they passe by us, did us a kind of homage with great solemnity, the greatest Personages beginning first, with reverend countenance and behaviour to bow their bodies even to the ground: which done, they put our owne messenger aboard us againe, and signified to us that their King (who himselfe was comming) had sent them before him to conduct our Ship into a better roade, desiring a Haller to be given them forth, that they might employ their service as their King commanded, in towing our Ship therewith to the place assigned.

The King himselfe was not far behind, but he also with six grave and ancient Fathers in his Canow approching, did at once together with them, yeeld us a reverend kind of obeysance in far more humble manner, then was to be expected; he was of a tall stature, very corpulent and well set together, of a very Princely and gracious countenance; his respect amongst his owne was such, that neither his Viceroy of *Mutir* aforementioned, nor any other of his Counsellors, durst speake unto him but upon their knees, not rising againe till they were licenced.

Whose comming as it was to our Generall, no small cause of good liking, so was he received in the best manner we could, answerable unto his state: our Ordnance thundred, which we mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of musick, both of still and loud noise, wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our musick to come into the Boat, he joyned his Canow to the same, & was towed at least a whole hour together, with the boat at the sterne of our Ship: Besides this our Generall sent him such presents, as he thought, might both requite his courtesie already received, and worke a farther confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begun.

The King being thus in muscicall paradise, and enjoying that
where-

wherewith he was so highly pleased; his brother named *Moro* with no lesse bravery, then any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repair, and gave us like respect; and his homage done he fell a sterne of us, till we came to anchor: neither did our Generall leave his courtesie unrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

The King as soone as we were come to anchor, craved pardone to be gone, and so rooke leave, promising us, that the next day he would come aboard, and in the meane time would prepare and send such Victuals as were requisite and necessary for our provision.

Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following, we received what was there to be had, by way of traffique, *to wit*, Rice in pretty quantity, Hens, Sugar-canes, imperfect and liquid Sugar, a fruit which they call *Figo* (*Magellane* calls it a Fig of a span long, but is no other then that which the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* have named *Plantanes*) *Coco*es and a kind of meale which they call *Sago*, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curdes, but melts away like Sugar; whereof they make a kinde of cake which will keepe good at least ten yeers; of this last we made the greatest quantity of our provision: for a few Cloves we did also traffique, whereof for a small matter, we might have had greater store, then we could well tell where to bestow: but our Generals care was that the Ship should not be too much pestered or anoyed therewith.

At the time appointed our Generall (having set all things in order to receive him) looked for the Kings returne, who failing both in time and promise, sent his Brother to make his excuse, and to intreat our Generall to come on shoar; his brother being the while to remain aboard, as a pawne for his safe restoring: our Generall could willingly have consented, if the King himselfe had not first broke his word the consideration whereof, bred an utter disliking in the whole company, who by no

1579. meanes would give consent, he should hazard himselfe, especially, for that the Kings Brother had uttered certaine words, in secret conference with our Generall aboard his Cabbin, which bred no small suspition of ill intent; our General being thus resolved not to goe a shoar at that time, reserved the Viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, both to accompauny the Kings Brother, and also with speciall message to the King himselfe.

They being come somewhat neere unto the Castle, were received by another Brother of the Kings, and certaine others of the greatest States and conducted with great honour towards the Castle, where being brought into a large and faire house, they saw gathered together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least a thousand, the chief whereof were placed round about the House, according as it seemed to their degrees and calling, the rest remained without.

The House was in forme four square, covered all over with cloth of divers colours, not much unlike our usuall Pentadoes borne upon a frame of Reeds, the sides being open from the groundsell to the covering, and furnished with seates round about: it seemes it was there Councill house and not commonly employed to any other use.

At the side of this house next unto the Castle was seated the chaire of state, having directly over it, and extending very largely every way, a very faire and rich Canopy, as the ground also for some ten or twelve paces compasse, was covered with cloth of Arras.

Whilest our Gentlemen attended in this place the comming of the King, which was about the space of halfe an hour, they had the better opportunity to observe these things; as also that before the Kings comming, there were already set threescore noble grave and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the Kings privy Councill; at the the nether end of the house were placed a great company of young men, of comely personage and attire. Without the house on the right side, stood four
ancient

ancient comely hoare-headed men, clothed all in red downe to the ground, but attired on their heads not much unlike the *Turks*; these they called *Romans*, or *Strangers*, who lay as *Lidgiers* there to keepe continuall traffique with this people: there were also two *Turks* one *Italian* as *Lidgiers*; and last of all one *Spaniard*, who being freed by the Kings out of the hands of the *Portugals*, in the recovering of the Island, served him now in stead of a Souldier.

The King at last coming from the Castle with 8. or 10. more grave Senators following him, had a very rich Canopy (adorned in the middest with Embossings of Gold) borne over him, and was guarded with 12. Lances the points turned downward: our men (accompanied with *Moro* the Kings brother) arose to meet him, and he very graciously did welcome and entertain them.

He was for Person, such as we have before described him, of low voice, temperate in speech, of Kingly demeanour, and a *Moore* by Nation. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his Country, but far more sumptuous, as his condition and state required: from the Waste to the ground, was all Cloth of Gold, and that very rich; his Legs bare, but on his Feet a paire of Shooes of Cordivant died Red: in the attire of his head, were finely wreathed in divers rings of plated Gold, of an inch, or an inch and halfe in bredth, which made a fair and princely shew, somewhat resembling a crowne in forme; about his necke he had a chaine of perfect Gold, the linkes very great and one fold double; on his left hand was a Diamond, an Emerald, a Ruby; and a Turkey, four very fair and perfect jewels; on his right hand in one Ring, a big and perfect Turkey, and in another Ring many Diamonds of a smaller size, very artificiall set and couched together.

As thus he sat in his Chaire of State, at his right side there stood a Page with a very costly fan (richly embrodered and beset with Saphires) breating and gathering the aire to refresh the King, the place being very hot, both by reason of the Sun, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while our gentlemen

men having delivered their message, and received answer, were licenced to depart, and were safely conducted backe againe, by one of the chiefe of the Kings Councell, who had charge from the King himselfe to performe the same.

Our Gentlemen observing the Castle as well as they could, could not conceive it to be a place of any great force two onely Canons they there saw, and those at that present untraversable because unmounted. These with all other furniture of like sort which they have, they have gotten them from the *Portugals*, by whom the Castle it self was also builded, whiles they inhabited that place and Island. Who seeking to settle a tyrannous government (as in other places so) over this people, and not contenting themselves with a better estate then they deserved (except they might (as they thought) make sure worke by leaving none of the royall blood alive, who should make challenge to the Kingdome) cruelly murthered the King himselfe (father to him who now raignes) and intended the like to all his sons. Which cruelty instead of establishing brought such a shaking on their usurped estate, that they were faine, without covenanting to carry away Goods, Munition, or any thing else to quit the place and the whole Island to save their lives.

For the present King with his brethren in revenge of their fathers murther, so bestirred themselves, that the *Portugall* was wholly driven from that Island, and glad that he yet keeps footing in *Tidore*. These four yeeres this King hath been encreasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, Lord of an hundred Islands thereabout; and was even now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the *Portugals* for *Tidore* it selfe.

The People are *Moores*, whose Religion consists much in certaine superstitious observations of new Moones, and certaine seasons with a rigid and strickt kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue who lay aboard us all the time for the most part during our abode in this place: who during their prescribed time, would neither eat nor drinke, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in

in their selfe devised worship) but yet in the night would eate 1579.
three times and that very largely. This *Terenate* stands in 27.
min. North latitude.

While we rode at anchor in the harbour of *Terenate*, besides the Natives there come aboard us another, a goodly Gentleman, very well accompanied with his Interpreter, to view our Ship, and to conferre with our Generall; he was apparelled much after our manner most neat and Courtlike; his carriage the most respective, and full of discreet behaviour that ever we had seen; He told us that he was himselfe but a stranger in those Islands, being a naturall of the Province of *Paghia* in *China*; his name, *Pausaos* of the family of *Hombu*; of which family there had 11. raigned in continuall succession these two hundred years, and King *Boxog* by the death of his elder brother (who died by a fall from his Horse) the rightfull heire of all *China*, is the twelfth of this race, he is 22. years of age; his Mother yet living: he hath a Wife, and by her one Son: he is well beloved, and highly honoured of all his subjects, and lives in great peace from any feare of Forreign invasion: but it was not this mans fortune to enjoy his part of this happinesse both of his King and Country, as he most desired.

For being accused of a capitall crime whereof (though free) yet he could not evidently make his Innocency appeare, and knowing the peremptory justice of *China*, to be irrevocable, if he should expect the sentence of the Judges; he before hand made suite to his King, that it would please him to commit his trial to Gods providence and judgement, and to that end to permit him to travel, on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy Intelligence, such as his Majestie had never had before, and were most fit to be known, and most honourable for *China*, he should for ever live an Exile, or else dye for daring to set foot againe in his owne Country: for he was assured that the God of Heaven had care of Innocency.

The King granted his suite, and now he had been three yeares abroad, and at this present came from *Tidore* (where he had re-

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mained two Moeths) to see the *English* Generall, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford it) to learne some such Intelligence as might make way for his returne into his Country, and therefore he earnestly intreated our Generall, to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his comming so far from *England* thither, with the manifold Occurrences that had happened to him by the way.

Our Generall gave ample satisfaction to each part of his request; the stranger harkned with great attention and delight to his discourse, and as he naturally excelled in memory (besides his help of Art to better the same) so he firmly printed it in his mind, and with great reverence thanked God, who had so unexpectedly brought him, to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to intreate our Generall with many most earnest and vehement perswasions, that he would be content to see his Country before his departure any farther Westward, that it should be a most pleasant, most honourable, and most profitable thing for him that he should gain hereby the notice, & carry home the description of one of the most ancient, mightiest and richest Kingdoms in the world. Hereupon he took occasion to relate the number and greatnesse of the Provinces, with the rare Commodities and good things they yeilded; the number, stateliness, and riches of their Cities, with what abundance of Men, Victuals, Munition, and all manner of necessaries & delightful things they were stored with: In particular, touching Ordnance and great Guns (the late invention of a scab shind *Frier* amongst us in *Europe*) he related that in *Sunuien* (by some called *Quinzai*) which is the chiefeft City of all *China*, they had brasse Ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be traversed then ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) above two thousand yeers agoe. With many other worthy things which our Generals own experience (if it would please him to make triall) would (better then his relation) assure him of. The brize would shortly serve very fitly to carry him thither and

and he himself would accompany him all the way. He accounted 1579.
 himselfe a happy man, that he had but seen and spoken with us;
 the relation of it might perhaps serve him to recover favour in
 his Country; but if he could prevaile with our Generall him-
 selfe to goe thither, he doubted not but it would be a meanes of
 his great advancement, and increase of honour with his King.
 Notwithstanding our Generall could not on any such perswasions
 be induced, and so the stranger parted sorry, that he could
 not prevaile in his request, yet exceeding glad of the Intelli-
 gence he had learned.

By the ninth of *November* having gotten what provision the Nov. 9.
 place could afford us, we then set sayle; and considering that
 our Ship for want of trimming was now growne foule, that our
 caske and vessels for water were much decayed; and that divers
 other things stood in need of reparation; our next care was, how
 we might fall with such a place where with safety we might a
 while stay for the redressing of these inconveniencies. The calm-
 nesse of the winds, which are almost continuall before the com-
 ming of the brize (which was not yet expected) perswaded us
 it was the fittest time that we could take.

With this resolution we sailed along till *November 14.* at Nov. 14.
 what time we arrived at a little Island (to the Southward of *Ce-
 lebes*) standing in 1. deg. 40. min. towards the pole antarticke;
 which being without Inhabitants, gave us the better hope of
 quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place convenient
 for our purposes (there wanting nothing here which we stood
 in need of, but onely water which we were faine to fetch from
 another Island somewhat farther to the South) made our abode
 here for six and twenty whole dayes together.

The first thing we did, we pitched our Tents and intrenched
 our selves as strongly as we could upon the shoare, least at any
 time perhaps we might have been disturbed by the Inhabitants
 of the greater Island which lay not far to the Westward of us;
 after we had provided thus for our security, we landed our
 Goods, and had a Smiths Forge set up, both for the making of

1579. some necessary Shipworke, and for the repairing of some Iron-hooped Caskes, without which they could not long have served our use: and for that our Smiths Coals were all spent long before this time; there was order given and followed for the burning of Charcoale, by which that want might be supplied.

We trimd our Ship, and performed our other busineses to our content. The place affording us not onely all necessaries (which we had not of our owne before) thereunto, but also wonderfull refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable reliefe and excellent provision that here we found, whereby of sickly, weake, and decayed (as many of us seemed to be before our comming hither we in short space grew all of us to be strong, lusty, and healthfull persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of Gods wonderfull wisdom in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw.

The whole Island is a through grown wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, very straight and clean without bowes, save onely in the very top. The leaves whereof are not much unlike our Brooms in *England*: Among these Trees, night by night did shew themselves an infinite swarme of Firie-seeming wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies (no bigger then an ordinary Flye) did make a shew, and give such light as if every twig on every Tree had been a lighred Candle: or as if that place had beene the Starry Sphear. To these we may adde the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge Bats or Reare-mice, equalling or rather exceeding a good Hen in bignesse. They flie with marvelous swiftnesse, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang onely by the bowes with their backs downeward.

Neither may we without ingratitude (by reason of the special use we made of them) omit to speak of the huge multitude of a certaine kind of Crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfie four hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restorative meat; the speciall means (as we conceived it) of our increase of health. They

They are as farre as we could perceiue, utter strangers to the Sea, living alwayes on the Land, where they worke themselves earths, as doe the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caves under the rootes of the most huge and monstrous Trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind, we found in other places, about the Iland *Celebes* some that for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did clime up into trees to hide themselves, whether we were enforced to climb after them, if we would have them, which we would not stick to do rather then to be without them: this Iland we called *Crab-Iland*.

All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our Generall prepared to be in a readinesse, to take the first advantage of the comming of the brize or winde which we expected; and having the day before, furnished our selves with fresh water from the other Iland, and taken in provision of Wood and the like: *December 12.* we put to Sea directing our course toward the West: the *16.* day we had sight of the Iland *Celebes* or *Silebis*, but having a bad wind, and being intangled among many Ilands, incumbred also with many other difficulties, & some dangers, & at last meeting with a deep Bay, out of which we could not in three dayes turne out againe, we could not by any meanes recover the North of *Silebis*, or continue on our course farther West, but were inforced to alter the same toward the South; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous, by reason of many shoales, which lay far off here and there among the Ilands, insomuch, that in all our passages from *England* hitherto, we had never more care to keepe our selves afloat, and from sticking on them: thus were we forced to beat up and downe with extraordinary care and circumspection till *January 9.* at which time, we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the land turning evidently in our sight about to Westward, and the Winde being enlarged followed us as we desired with a reasonable Gale.

Dec. 12.

Dec. 16.

Jan. 9.

When loe on a sudden, when we least suspected no shew or
 N 3 suspicion

1577. suspicion of danger appearing to us, and we were now sailing onward with full sails, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, even in a moment our ship was laid up fast upon a desperate shoal, with no other likelihood in appearance, but that we with her must there presently perish: there being no probability how any thing could be saved, or any Person so per alive.

The unexpectednesse of so extreame a danger, presently roused us up to looke about us, but the more we looked, the lesse hope we had of getting clear of it againe, so that nothing now presenting it selfe to our mindes, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respite or time pausing, called upon us to turne our thoughts another way, to renounce the World, to deny our selves, and to commend our selves into the mercifull hands of our most gracious God; to this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joynd prayers sent up unto the throne of græce, humbly besought Almighty God, to extend his mercy unto us in his Son *Christ Jesus*; and so preparing as it were our necks unto the blocke, we every minute expected the finall stroke to be given unto us.

Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet (that we might not seeme to tempt God, by leaving any second meanes unattempted which he afforded) presently as soon as prayers were ended, our General (exhorting us to have the especiallest care of the better part, *to wit*, the Soule, and adding many comfortable speeches of the joyes of that other life, which we now alone looked for) encouraged us all to bestirre our selves, shewing us the way thereto by his owne example; and first of all the Pump being wel plyed, and the ship freed of Water, we found our Leakes to be nothing increased, which though it gave us no hope of deliverance, yet it gave us some hope of respite, insomuch, as it assured us that the Bulke was sound, which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate providence of God alone, insomuch, as no strength of wood and Iron could have possibly born so hard and violent a shock, as our
Ship

Ship did, dashing herselfe under full saile against the Rocks, except the extraordinary hand of God, had supported the same.

Our next assay was for good ground and anchor-hold, to Seaward of us (wheron to hale) by which meanes if by any, our Generall put us in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to cleer our selves; in his owne person, he therefore undertooke the charge of sounding, and but even a Boats length from the Ship, he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached unto; so that the beginnings of hope, which we were willing to have conceived before, were by this meanes quite dasht againe; yea, our misery seemed to be increased, for whereas at first we could looke for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned, into the awaiting for a lingring death, of the two, the far more fearefull to be chosen; one thing fell out happily for us, that the most of our men did not conceive this thing, which had they done, they would in all likelihood have been so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable them, to have sought the remedy; our Generall with those few others, that could judge of the event wisely, diff'mbling the same, and giving in the meantime cheerful speeches, and good incouragements unto the rest.

For whiles it seemed to be a clear case, that our Ship was so fast moored, that she could not stirre; it necessarily followed, that either we were there to remaine on the place with her; or else leaving her to commit our selves in a most poore and helpelesse state to seeke some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choices, did carry with it the appearance of worse then one thousand deaths.

As touching our Ship this was the comfort that she could give us, that she her selfe lying there confined already upon the hard and pinching Rocks, did tell us plaine, that she continually expected her speedy dispatch, as soone as the Sea and windes should come, to be the severe Executioners of that heavy judgement, by the appointment of the eternall judge already

15-9. dy given upon her, who had committed her there to Adamantine bounds in a most narrow prison, against their coming for that purpose: so that if we would stay with her, we must perish with her; or if any by any yet unperceivable meanes, should chance to be delivered, his escape must needs be a perpetuall misery, it being far better to have perished together, then with the losse and absence of his friends, to live in a strange Land: whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild Beasts, as a Bird on the Mountaines without all comfort, or among the barbarous people of the Heathen, in intollerable bondage both of body and mind.

And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred, longer then either reason could perswade us, or in any likelihood could seeme possible (it being not the power of Earthly things to indure what she had suffered already) yet could our abode there profit us nothing, but increase our wretchednesse, and enlarge our sorrows, for as her store and Victuals were not much (sufficient to sustaine us onely some few dayes, without hope of having any increase, no not so much as a cup of cold water) so must it inevitably come to passe, that we (as children in the Mothers Womb) should be driven even to eat the flesh from of our owne Arms, she being no longer able to sustaine us; and how horrible a thing this would have proved, is easie by any one to be derceived.

And whither (had we departed from her) should we have received any comfort; nay the very impossibility of going, appeared to be no lesse, then those other before mentioned: our Boat was by no meanes able at once to carry above 20. persons with any safety, and we were 58 in all, the neereft Land was six leagues from us, and the winde from the shoar directly bent against us; or should we have thought of setting some a shoare, and after that to have fetcht the rest, there being no place thereabout without Inhabitants, the first that had landed must first have fallen into the hand of the Enemy, and so the rest in order, and though perhaps we might escape the Sword, yet
would

would our life have been worse then death, not alone in respect of our wofull captivity, and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being to be deprived of all publique meanes of serving the true God, and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and divellish Idolatries of the Heathen. 1579.

Our misery being thus manifest, the very consideration wherof must needs have shaken flesh and blood, if faith in Gods promises had not mightily sustained us, we past the night with earnest longings that the day would once appeare, the meane time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting our selves, and refreshing our hearts, striving to bring our selves to an humble submission under the hand of God, and to a referring our selves wholly to his good will and pleasure.

The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full Sea about that time, after we had given thanks to God for his forbearing of us hitherto, and had with teares called upon him to blesse our labours; we againe renewed our travell, to see if we could now possibly find any anchor-hold, which we had formerly sought in vaine. But this second attempt proved as fruitlesse as the former, and left us nothing to trust to, but prayers and tears seeing it appeared impossible that ever the forecast, councell, pollicy, or power of man could ever effect the delivery of our Ship, except the Lord onely miraculously should do the same.

It was therefore presently motioned, and by generall voyce determined to commend our case to God alone, leaving our selves wholly in his hand; to spill or save us as seeme best to his gracious wisdom. And that our faith might be the better strengthned, and the comfortable apprehension of Gods mercy in Christ be more clearly felt; we had a Sermon, and the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour celebrated.

After this sweet repast was thus received, and other holy exercises adjoynd were ended. lest we should seeme guilty in any respect

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respect for using all lawfull means we could not invent; we fell to one other practise yet unassayed, *to wit*, to unloading of our Ship by casting some of her goods into the Sea; which thing as it was attempted most willingly, so was it dispatched in very short time. So that even those things which we before this time nor any other in our case could be without, did now seeme as things onely worthy to be despised; yea, we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defence, nor the very meale for sustentation of our lives could find favour with us, but every thing as it first came to hand went overboard, assuring our selves of this, that if it pleased God once to deliver us out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for us against our Enemies, neither would he suffer us to perish for want of bread. But when all was done, it was not any of our endeavours, but Gods onely hand that wrought our delivery; 'twas he alone that brought us even under the very stroke of death; 'twas he alone that said unto us, Returne againe ye sons of men; 'twas he alone that set us at liberty again, that made us safe & free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition, the full space of twenty hours, to his glorious name be the everlasting praise.

The manner of our delivery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was onely this. The place whereon we sat so fast was a firme Rock in a cleft, whereof it was we stucke on the Larboardside, at low Water there was not above six foot depth in all on the Starboard, within little distance as you have heard no bottome to be found, the Brize during the whole time that we thus were stayed, blew somewhat stiffe directly against our broad side, and so perforce kept the Ship upright: It pleased God in the beginning of the tide, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slacke the stiffnesse of the Wind; and now our Ship who required thirteene foote water to make her fleet, and had not at that time on the one side above seven at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long already kept her up, fell a heeling towards the deepe Water,

ter, and by that meanes freed her Keele and made us glad men. 1579.

This shoale is at least three or four leagues in length, it lyes in two deg. lacking three or foure minutes South latitude. The day of this deliverance was the tenth of *January*.

Jan. 10

Of all the dangers that in our whole Voyage we met with, this was the greatest, but it was not the last as may appeare by what ensueth. Neither could we indeed for a long season free our selves from the continuall care and feare of them; nor could we ever come to any convenient anchoring, but were continually for the most part tost amongst the many Islands and shoales (which lye in infinite number round about on the South parts of *Celebes*) till the eighth day of the following Moneth.

Jan. 12. being not able to beare our sayles by reason of the tempest and fearing of the dangers, we let fall our anchors upon

a shoal in 3. deg. 30. min. *Jan. 14.* we were gotten a little farther

Jan. 14.

South, whereat an Island in 4. deg. 6 min. we againe cast anchor and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this we met with foule weather, Westerly winds, and dangerous shoales for many dayes together; insomuch, that we were utterly weary of this coast of *Sillebis*, and thought best to bear with *Timor*. The Southermost cape of *Sillebis* stands in 5. deg. that side the line.

But of this coast of *Sillebis* we could not so easily clear our selves. The 20. of *Janu.* we were forced to run with a small I-

Jan. 20.

land not far from thence; where having sent our Boat a good distance from us to search out a place where we might anchor: we were suddenly environed with no small extremities, for there arose a most violent, yea an intollerable flaw and storme out of the Southwest against us, making us (who were on a Lee shoar amongst most dangerous and hidden shoales) to feare extreemly not onely the losse of our Boat and Men, but the present losse of our selves, our Ship and good, or the casting of those men whom God should spare in to the hands of Infidels. Which misery could not by any Power or Industry of ours have been avoided, if the mercifull goodnesse of God had not (by staying the outrageous extremities wherewith we were set upon)

upon) wrought our present delivery, by whose unspeakable mercy our men and Boat also were unexpected, yet safely, restored unto us.

Jan. 26. We gat off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26. day, when the winde rooke us, very strong against us, West and West Southwest, so as that we could beare no more saile, till the end of that Moneth was full expired.

Feb. 1. February 1. we saw very high land, and as it seemed well inhabited, we would faine have borne with it to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill, that we could find no Harbour, and we were very fearfull of adventuring our selves too farre, amongst the many dangers which were neere the shoar. The third day also we saw a little Island, but being unable to bear any saile, but onely to lye at Hull, we were by the storme carried away, and could not fetch it. February 6. we saw five Islands, one of them towards the East, and foure towards the West of us, one bigger then another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watred and wooded.

Feb. 8. After we had gone hence on February 8. we descried two Canowes, who having descried us as it seemes before, came willingly unto us, and talked with us, alluring and conducting us to their Towne not far off, named *Barativa*, it stands in 7. deg. 13. min. South the line.

The People are *Gentiles* of handsome body, and comely stature, of civill demeanour, very just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, of all which we had evident prooffe, they shewing themselves most glad of our comming and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants, with whatsoever their Country could afford. The men goe all naked save their heads and secret parts, every one having one thing or other hanging at his eares. Their women are covered from the middle to the foot wearing upon their naked arms Bracelets, and that in no small number, some having nine at least upon each arme, made for the most part of home or brasse, whereof the lightest (by our estimation) would weigh two ounces.

With

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With this People linnen cloth (wherof they make roles for their heads and girdles to weare about their loynes) is the best Merchandise and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with *Margaretas* (which in their language they call *Saletas*) and such other like trifles.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull, rich in Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Sulpher, &c. neither are they onely expert to try those mettals, but very skilfull also in working of them artificially, into divers Forms and Shapes, as pleaseth them best. Their fruits are divers likewise and plentiful, as Nutmegs, Ginger, long-Pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, Coccoes, Figoes, Sagu, with divers other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bignesse forme and huske, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance, but pleasant in tast, which being sod becometh soft, and is a most profitable and nourishing meat; of each of these we received of them, whatsoever we desired for our need; insomuch, that such was Gods gracious goodnesse to us, the old Proverbe was verified with us, *After a storme commeth a calme, after warre peace, after scarcity followeth plenty*; so that in all our Voyage (*Terenate* onely excepted) from our departure out of our owne Country hitherto, we found not any where greater comfort and refreshing, then we did at this time in this place, in refreshing and furnishing our selves; here we spent two dayes, and departed hence *February 10.*

*Feb. 10.**Feb. 11.*

When we were come into the height of 8. deg. 4. min. *Feb. 12.* in the morning we espied a green Island to the Southward; not long after, two other Islands on the same side, and a great one more towards the North; they seemed all to be well inhabited, but we had neither need nor desire to goe to visit them, and so we past by them. The 14. day we saw some other reasonable big Islands, and *February 16.* we past betweene foure or five big Islands more which lay in the height 9. deg. 40. min.

*Feb. 14.**Feb. 15.**Feb. 16.**Feb. 17.*

The 18. we cast anchor under a little Island, whence we departed againe the day following; we wooded here, but other relief except two Turtles we received none.

*Feb. 18.**Feb. 19.*

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Feb. 22. The 22. day we lost sight of three Islands on our Starboard side which lay in ten deg. and some odd minutes.

Mar. 9. After this, we past on to the Westward without stay or any thing to be taken notice of, till the ninth of *March* when in the morning we espyed land, some part thereof very high in 8. d. 20. m. South latitude; here we anchored that night, & the next day Mar. 10. weighed againe, and bearing farther North, and neerer the shoar we came to anchor the second time.

The eleventh of *March* we first tooke in water, and after sent our Boat againe to shoare, where we had Traffique with the people of the Country; whereupon the same day, we brought Mar. 11.
Mar. 12. our Ship more neere the Towne; and having settled our selves there that night, the next day our General sent his man a shoar, to present the King with certain Cloth both Linnen and Woollen, besides some Silkes, which he gladly and thankfully received, and returned Rice, Coccoes, Hennes, and other Victuals in way of recompence. This Island we found to be the Island *Java* the middle whereof stands in 7. deg. and 30. min. beyond the Equator.

Mar. 13. The 13. of *March* our General himself with many of his gentlemen, and others went to shoare, and presented the King (of whom he was joyfully and lovingly received) with his musicke, and shewed him the manner of our use of Arms, by training his men with their Pikes and other weapons, which they had before him; for the present we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more Victuals to be shortly sent us.

In this Island there is one chiefe, but many under-governors or petty kings, whom they call *Raias*, who live in great familiarity and friendship one with another. The 14. day we received Mar. 14.
Mar. 15. Victuals from two of them, and the day after that, *to wit*, the 15 three of these Kings in their owne Persons came aboard to see our Generall, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainment which we gave them. And after these had been with us, and

1579.

and on their returne had as it seemes related what they found, *Raia Donan* the chief King of the whole land bringing Victuals with him for our relief; he also the next day after came aboard us. Few were the dayes that one or more of these kings did misse to visit us, insomuch, that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of *Raia Pataira*, *Raia Cabocapalla*, *Raia Mangbango*, *Raia Bocabarra*, *Raia Timbanton*; whom our Generall alwayes entertained with the best cheere that we could make, and shewed them all the commodities of our Ship, with our Ordnance and other Arms and Weapons, and the severall furnitures belonging to each, and the uses for which they served. His musick also and all things else whereby he might doe them pleasure, wherein they tooke exceeding great delight with admiration.

One day amongst the rest, viz. *March 21.* *Raia Donan* coming aboard us, in requitall of our musicke which was made to him, presented our Generall with his Country musicke, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightfull: the same day he caused an Oxe also to be brought to the waters side, and delivered to us, for which he was to his content rewarded by our Generall, with divers sorts of very costly Silkes which he held in great esteeme.

Mar. 21.

Though our often giving entertainment in this manner, did hinder us much in the speedy dispatching of our businesse, and made us spend the more dayes about them, yet here we found all such convenient helpe, that to our contents we at last ended them; the matter of great Importance which we did (besides Victualling) was the new trimming and washing of our Ship, which by reason of our long Voyage was so overgrowne with a kind of a shell-fish sticking fast unto her, that it hindred exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sayling.

The People (as are their King) are a loving, a very true and just dealing People. We traffiqued with them for Hens, Goats, Coccoes, Plantons, and other kind of Victuals, which they offered us in such plenty that we might have laden our Ship if we had needed.

We

1580. We tooke our leaves and departed from them the 26. of
Mar. 26. March, and set our course West South West, directly towards
 the cape of good hope, or *Bon Esperance*, and continued without
May 21. touch of ought, but aire and water, till the 21. of *May*, when we
 espied land (to wit a part of the maine *Africa*) in some places
 very high under the latitude of 31. deg. and halfe.

June 15. We coasted along till *June 15.* on which day, having very
 faire weather, and the Wind at Southeast, we past the Cape
 it selfe so neere in sight, that we had beene able with our pieces
 to have shot to land.

July 15. *July 15.* we fell with the land againe about *Rio de seſto*, where
 we saw many *Negroes* in their Boats a fishing, wherof two came
 very neer us, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talke or dea-
 ling with them.

July 22. The 22. of the same moneth, we came to *Sierra Leona*, and
 spent two dayes for watering in the mouth of *Tagoine*, and then

July 24. put to Sea again; here also we had Oysters, and plenty of Lem-
 mons, which gave us good refreshing.

Aug. 15. We found our selves under the Tropick of *Cancer August*

Aug. 15. 15. having the winde at Northeast, and we 50 leagues off from
 the neereſt land.

The 22. day we were in the height of the *Canaries*.

Sept. 26. And the 26 of *Sept.* (which was munday in the just and ordi-
 nary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or
 Country, but in our cōputation was the Lords day or Sunday).
 we safely with joyfull minds and thankful hearts to God, arived
 at *Plimoth*, the place of our first setting forth after we had spent
 2. yeeres 10 moreths and some few odde dayes beside, in seeing
 the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many ad-
 mirable things, in going through with so many strange adven-
 tures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so
 many difficulties in this our encompassing of this nether Globe,
 and passing round about the World, which we have related.

*Soli rectum maximam Effectori,
 Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
 Soli suorum Conservatori,
 Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.*

FINIS.

A
S U M M A R I E
A N D
T R U E D I S C O U R S E
O F
S I R F R A N C I S D R A K E S
W E S T - I N D I A N Voyage.

Accompanied with *Christopher Carleill,*
Martin Frobusher, Francis Knollis, with
many other Captains and Gentlemen.

Wherein were taken, the Townes of *Saint*
Jago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and
Saint Augustine.



Printed at *London* for *Nicholas Bourne,* dwelling at the
South entrance of the royall Exchange, 1652.



A SVMMARY AND TRVE
DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRANCIS
DRAKES West-Indian VOYAGE :

Wherein were taken the Townes of *Sainti-
ago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena*
and *Saint Augustine.*



HIS worthy Knight, for
the service of his Prince
and Countrey, having pre-
pared his whole Fleet, and
gotten them down to *Pli-
mouth* in *Devonshire*, to the
number of five and twenty
sayle of Ships and Pinna-
ces ; and having assembled
of Souldiers and Marriners
to the number of two thou-
sand and three hundred in
the whole, imbarqued them and himielfe at *Plimmouth*
aforesaid, the twelfth day of *September 1585.* being ac-
companied with these Men of name and charge, which
hereafter follow :

A 2

Master

A West Indian Voyage made by

Master *Christopher Carleil* Lievtenant Generall; a man of long experience in the Warre as well by Sea as Land, and had formerly carried high Offices in both kindes in many Fights, which he discharged alwayes very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthony Powell Sergeant Major.

Captaine *Matthem Morgan*, and Captain *John Sampson*, Corporals of the Field.

These Officers had Command over the rest of the Land Captains, whose names hereafter follow :

Captain *Anthony Plat*.

Captain *Edward Winter*.

Captain *John Goring*.

Captain *Robert Pew*.

Captain *George Barton*.

Captain *John Merchant*.

Captain *William Cecill*.

Captain *Walter Bigs*.

Captain *John Hannam*.

Captain *Richard Stanton*.

Captain *Martin Frobuscher* Vice-admirall, a man of great experience in Sea-faring actions, and had had chiefe command of many Ships himselfe, in sundry Voyages before, being now shipped in the *Primrose*.

Captain *Francis Knollis*, Rere-admirall in the *Gallion Leicester*.

Master *Thomas Venner*, Captain in the *Elizabeth Bonadventure*, under the Generall.

Master *Edward Winter* Captain in the *Ayde*.

Master *Christopher Carleill* the Lievtenant Generall, Captaine in the *Tygar*.

Henry White, Captain of the *Sea-Dragon*.

Thomas Drake, Captain of the *Thomas*.

Thomas

Sir Francis Drake and others.

5

Thomas Seelie Captaine of the *Minion*.

Baily Captaine of the Barke *Talbot*.

Robert Crosse Captaine of the Barke *Bond*.

George Fortescute Captaine of the Barke *Bonner*.

Edward Carelesse Captaine of the *Hope*.

James Erizo Captaine of the *White Lyon*.

Thomas Moone Captaine of the *Francis*.

John Rivers Captaine of the *Vantage*.

John Vaughan Captaine of the *Drake*.

John Varney Captaine of the *George*.

John Martin Captaine of the *Benjamin*.

Edward Gilman Captain of the *Skout*.

Richard Haukins Captain of the *Galliot*, called the *Ducke*.

Bitfield Captain of the *Swallow*.

After our going hence, which was the fourteenth of *September*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eighty and five; and taking our course towards *Spain* we had the Winde for a few dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arrived neer that part of the coast of *Spaine*, which is called the *Moores*, we hapned to espie divers Sayles, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Vize-admirall to goe with the Pinnaces well manned to see what they were; who upon sight of the said Pinnaces approaching neer unto them, abandoned for the most part all their Ships (being *Frenchmen*) laden all with Salt, and bound homewards into *France*; amongst which Ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so well liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto the Generall, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly performed at our return; which Bark was called the *Drake*.

The rest of these Ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwards put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the winde, we hapned to meet with some other *French Ship*, full laden with *Newland Fish*, being upon their returne homeward from the said *New-found land*; whom the Generall, after some speech had with them, (and seeing plainly that they were *French-Men*) dismissed without once suffering any man to goe aboard of them.

The day following, standing in with the shore againe, we descried another tal Ship of twelve score tons or thereabouts, upon whom Master *Carleill* the Lievtenant Generall being in the *Tygar*, undertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed; and the *Tygar* having caused the strange Ship to strike her sayles, kept her there without suffering any body to goe aboard untill the Admirall was come up; who forthwith sending for the Master, and divers others of their principall Men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the Ship and Goods to be belonging to the Inhabitants of Saint *Sebastian* in *Spaine*, but the Marriners to be for the most part belonging to Saint *John de Luce*, and the Passage. In this Ship was great store of dry *Newland Fish*, commonly called with us *Poore John*, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull Prize) there was distribution made into all the Ships of the Fleet, the same being so new and good as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our Voyage.

A day or two after the taking of this Ship, we put in within the Isles of *Bayon*, for lacke of favourable winde, where we had no sooner anchored some part of the Fleet, but the Generall commanded all the Pinnaces with the
Ship-

Ship-boats to be Manned, and every man to be furnished with such armes as was needfull for that present service; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his Galley, which was also well furnished; and rowing towards the City of *Bayon*, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty to surprize it. Before we had advanced one halfe league of our way, there came a Messenger, being an *Englisch* Merchant, from the Governour, to see what strange Fleet we were; who came to our Generall, and conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine *Sampson*, and willed him to goe to the Governour of the City, to resolve him of two point. The first, to know if there were any Wars between *Spaine* and *England*? The second, why our Merchants with their Goods were imbarred or arrested? Thus departed Captaine *Sampson* with the said Messenger to the City, where he found the Governour and People much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Generall with the advice and counsell of Master *Carleill* his Lievtenant generall, who was in the Galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the City, where they might be ready upon the return of Captaine *Sampson*, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it was darke.

Captaine *Sampson* returned with his Message in this sort. First, touching Peace or Wars, the Governour said he knew of no Wars, and that it lay not in him to make any, he being so mean a Subject as he was. And as for the stay of the Merchants with their Goods, it was the Kings pleasure, but not with intent to endammage any man: and that the Kings counter-mand was (which had been received in that place some seven nights before) that *Eng-*
lish

lish Merchants with their Goods should be discharged: for the more verifying whereof, he sent such Merchants as were in the Town of our Nation, who trafficked in those parts; which being at large declared to our Generall by them, counsell was taken what might best be done: and for that the night approached, it was thought needfull to land our Force, which was done in the shutting up of the day; and having quartered our selves to our most advantage, with sufficient gard upon every streight, we thought to rest our selves for that night there. The Governour sent us some refreshing, as Bread, Wine, Oyle, Apples, Grapes, Marmalad, and such like. About midnight the weather begins to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repair aboard, then to make any longer abode on land, and before we could recover the Fleet, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our Ships to drive from their anchor hold, and some were forced to Sea in great perill, as the Barke *Talbot*, the Barke *Hawkins* and the *Speedwell*, which *Speedwell* onely was driven into *England*, the others recovered us again; the extremity of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to abate, but Master *Carleill* our Lieutenant Generall, was sent with his owne Ship and three others, as also with the Galley and with diverse Pinnaces, to see what he might do above *Vigo*, where he tooke many Boates and some Carvels, diuersly laden with things of small value but chiefly with househouldstufte, running into the high Country, and amongst the rest, he found one Boat laden with the principall Church-stuffe of the high Church of *Vigo*, where also was their great Crosse of Silver, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all over, having cost them a great Masse of money. They complained to have lost in all kind of Goods above thirty thousand Duckets in this place.

The

The next day the Generall with his whole Fleete went up from the Isles of *Bayon*, to a very good harbour above *Vigo*, where Master *Carleill* stayed his comming, as well for the more quiet riding of his Ships, as also for the good commodity of fresh watering, which the place theredid affoord full well. In the meane time the Governour of *Gallisia* had reared such forces as he might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from *Bayon* to this part of the Countrey, which lay in sight of our Fleet, where making stand, he sent to parle with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might be in boates upon the water: and for safety of their persons, there were pledges delivered on both sides; which done, the Governour of *Gallisia* put himselfe with two others into our Vice-Admirals Skiffe, the same having been sent to the shoare for him. And in like sort our Generall in his owne Skiffe, where by them it was agreed, we should furnish our selves with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affoord.

When all our businesse was ended, we departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of *Canaria*, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of *Spain*, and falling purposely with *Palma*, with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things in order, and the better furnishing our store with such severall good things as that affoorded very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea gate which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that under the favor of many Platformes, well furnished with great Ordinance,

dinance, to depart with the receipt of many their Canon-shot, some into our Ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deed full Canon high. But the onely or chiefe mischiefe, was the dangerous sea surge, which at shore all alongest, plainly threatned the overthrow of as many Pinnaces and Boates, as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle *Ferro*, to see if we could find any better fortune; and coming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high Mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the Inhabitants, accompanied with a young fellow borne in *England*, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their stare to be so poore, that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night we put off to Sea South South-east along towards the coast of *Barbarie*.

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the thirteenth of *November*, we fell with *Cape Blancke* which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine *French* Ships of Warre whom we entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. The afternoone the whole Fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of *Cape Verde*, sayling till the sixteenth of the same Moneth in the morning, on which day we descried the Island of *Saint Jago*, and in the evening we anchored the Fleet between the Towne called the *Plaie* or *Praie* and *Saint Jago*, where we put on shore a thousand men or more, under

der the leading of Master *Christopher Carleill* Lieueutenant Generall, who directed the service most like a wise Commander. The place where we had first to March did afford no good order, for the ground was Mountaines and full of Dales, being a marvelous stony and troublesome passage, but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, untill we had gotten up to a faire Plaine, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together upon the Plaine, some two little miles from the Towne, the Lieueutenant Generall thought good not to make attempt till day light; because there was not one that could serve for Guide or giving knowledge at all of the place. And therefore after having well rested, even halfe an houre before day, he commanded the Army to be divided into three speciall parts, such as he appoinred, whereas before we had marched by severall Companies, being thereunto forced by the naughtinesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time we were thus ranged in a very brave order, daylight began to appeare, and being advanced hard to the Wall we saw no Enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieuetenant Generall appointed Captaine *Sampson* with thirty shot, and Captaine *Barton* with other thitty, to go downe into the Towne which stood in the Valley under us, and might very plainly be viewed all over from that place where the whole Army was now arrived, and presently after these Captaines was sent, the great Ensigne which had nothing in it but the plaine *English* Crosse, to be placed towards the Sea, that our Fleet might see *Saint Georges* crosse flourish in the Enemies fortresse. Order was given that all the Ordinance throughout the town, and upon all the Platformes, which vvas above fifty Peeces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the

Queenes Majesties Coronation day, being the seventeenth of *November*, after the yeerly custome of *England*, which was so answered againe by the Ordinance out of all the Ships in the Fleet which now was come neere, as it was strange to hear such a thundering noise last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant Generall held still the most part of his Force on the hill top, till such time as the Towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole army, which being done every Captain tooke his owne quarrer, and in the evening was placed such sufficient guard upon every part of the Towne that we had no cause to feare any present Enemye.

Thus we continued in the City the space of fourteene dayes, taking such spoyles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, Wine, Oyle, Meale, and some such like things for Victual, as Vinegar, Olives, and some such other trash, as Merchandise for their *Indian* trades. But there was not found any Treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The scituation of Saint *Jago* is somewhat strange, in forme like to a triangle, having on the East and West sides two Mountaines of Rocke and Cliffie, as it were hanging over it, upon the top of which two Mountaines was builded certaine fortifications to preserve the Towne from any harme that might be offered, as in this Plot is plainly shewed. From thence on the South side of the Towne is the maine Sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresaid Mountaines, wherein the Towne standeth: the said Valley and Towne both doe grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the Towne is estimated not to be above rente or twelve score over.

In the midst of the Valley commeth downe a riveret,

ill

Rill or Brook of fresh Water, which hard by the Sea side maketh a Pond or Poole, whereout our Ships were watered vwith very great ease and pleasure, Somewhat above the Towne on the North side betweene the two Mountaines, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the Townes end which Valley is wholly converted into Gardens and Orchards vwell replenished with diuerse sorts of Fruites, Herbes and Trees, as Lymons, Oranges, Sugar Canes, Cochars or Cochos-Nuts, Plantens, Potato-roots, Cocombers, small and round Onyons, Garlike, and some other things not now remembred, amongst which the Chochos-nuts and Plantens are very pleasant Fruits, the said Cochos having a hard shell and a greene Huske over it, as hath our Walnut but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this Cochos in his greene huske is bigger then any mans two Fists, of the hard shell many drinking Cups are made here in *England*, and set in Silver as I have often seen.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine, resembling in shew very much, even as any thing may doe, to the white of an Egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the Nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantity of halfe a pint or thereabouts, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh taste, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I have heard some hold opinion, that it is very restorative.

The Planten groweth in Cods, somewhat like to Beans, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the Cod becometh yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there, hapued to come a *Portugall*

ingall to the Westermost Fort, with a Flag of truce ; to whom Captaine *Sampson* was sent with Captain *Goring* ; who comming to the said Messenger, he first asked them what Nation they were ; they answered, *Englishmen* ; he then desired to know if Warres were betweene *England* and *speine* ; to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall, he could best resolve him of such particulars ; and for his assurance of passage and repasse, these Captains made offer to ingage their credits ; which he refused, for that he was not sent from his Governour. Then they told him, if his Governour did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the People and Countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe unto our Noble and mercifull Governour Sir *Francis Drake*, whereby he might be assured to finde favour, both for himselfe and the Inhabitants. Otherwise, within three dayes we should March over the Land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the Sword all such living soules as we should chance upon ; so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answer and departing, he promised to returne the next day, but we never heard more of him.

Upon the foure and twentieth of *November*, the Generall accompanied with the Lieverenant Generall and six hundred men, marched forth to a Village twelve Miles within the Land, called *Santo Domingo*, where the Governour and the Bishop with all the better sort were lodged and by eight of the Clocke we came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the Mountaines, so we made a stand a while to ease our selves, and partly to see if any would come to speake to us.

After we had well rested our selves, the Generall commanded the Troops to march away homewards, in which
retreat

retreat the Enemy shewed themselves, both Horse and Foot, though not such Force as durst encounter us : and so in passing some time at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night, before we could recover home to *Saint Jago*.

On Munday the six and twentieth of *November*, the Generall commanded all the Pinnaces with the Boates, to use all diligence to imbarke the Army into such Ships as every man belonged. The Lieuutenant Generall in like sort commanded Captaine *Goring* and Lievetenant *Tucker* with one hundred shot to make a stand in the Market-place, untill our Forces were wholly imbarked, the Vice-Admirall making stay with his Pinnace and certain Boats in the harbour, to bring the said last company aboard the Ships. Also the General willed forthwith the Gallie with two Pinnaces to take into them the company of Captaine *Barton*, and the Company of Captaine *Bigs*, under the leading of Captaine *Sampson*, to seeke out such Munition as was hidden in the ground, at the Towne of *Pray* or *Play*, having been promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesaid comming to the *Play*, landed their men, and having placed the Troope in their best strength, Captaine *Sampson* tooke the Prisoner and willed him to shew that he had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not : but they searching all suspected places, found two peeces of Ordinance, one of Iron and another of Brasse. In the afternoone the General anchored the rest of the Fleet before the *Play*, comming himselfe ashore, willing us to burne the Towne and make all haste aboard, the which was done by six of the clocke the same day, and our selves imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

But

But before our departure from the Towne of Saint Jago, we established Orders for the better government of the Army, every man Mustered to his Captaine, and oaths ministered to acknowledge her Majestie supream Governor, as also every man to doe his uttermost endeavour to advance the service of the Action, and to yeeld due obedience unto the directions of the Generall and his Officers. By this provident councell, and laying downe this good foundation beforehand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Governor for the King of *Spaine*, (which is a *Portugall*) neither the Bishop, whose authority is great, neither any of the Inhabitants of the Town, or Island ever came at us (which we expected they should have done) to intreat us to leave them some part of their needful provisions, or at the least to spare the ruining of their Town at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old Master William *Haukins* of *Plimouth*, in the Voyage he made foure or five yeares before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his Men, whereof I judge you have understood, and therefore needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the Spittle-house, (which building vvas only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment and scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude manner of killing, and savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our Boyes found, by them stragling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly manner.

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In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with Fire all the houses, as well in the Country which we saw, as in the Towne of Saint *Jago*.

From hence putting over to the *west-Indies*, 'vve were not in any dayes at Sea, but there began amongst our people such mortality, as in few dayes there were dead above two or three hundred men. And untill some seven or eight dayes after our comming from Saint *Jago*, there had not dyed any one man of sicknesse in all the Fleet: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stricken, untill we were departed thence, and then seized our people with extreame hot burning and continuall ague, whereof some very few escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wits and strength for a long time after. In some that dyed were plainly shewed the small spots, which are often found upon thole that be infective with the Plague; we were not above eightene dayes in passage between the sight of Saint *Jago* aforesaid, and the Island of *Dominica*, being the first Island of the *west-Indies* that we fell withal, the same being inhabited with Savage People which goe all naked, their skin coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit little conversation with the *Spaniards*: for as some of our people might understand them, they had a *Spaniard* or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safety for any of our Nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandment, albeit they used us very kindly for those few houres of time which we spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh Water from the River to our Ships Boats, and fetching from their houses, great store of Tobacco, as also a kind

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of Bread which they fed on, called *Cassado*, very white and savory, made of the roots of *Cassania*. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of Glasse, coloured Beads, and other things which we had found at Saint *Jago*, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewing some sorrowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence we went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint *Christophers* Island, wherein we spent some dayes of *Christmas*, to refresh our sicke People, and to cleanse and ayre our Ships. In which Island were not any People at all that we could hear of.

In which time by the Generall it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lievtenant generall, the Vice-Admiral, and all the rest of the Captains to proceed to the great Island of *Hispaniola*; as well for that we knew our selus then to be in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the City of Saint *Domingo*, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey there abouts. And to proceed in this determination, by the way we met a small Frigot, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-Admirall took, and having duly examined the Men that were in her, there was one found by whom we were advertized, the Haven to be a barred Haven, and the shore or Land thereof to be well fortified, having a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillery; without the danger whereof, was no convenient landing place within ten *English* miles of the City; to which the said Pilot rooke upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole Forces were commanded in the evening to embarke themselves into Pinnaces, Boats and other small Barks, appointed for
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this service. Our Souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the Barke *Francis* as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the Sea, bearing small sayle untill our arrivall to the Landing place, which was about the breaking of the day; and so we landed, being *New-years* day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that brave City of Saint *Domingo*: for at that time, nor yet is knowne to us, any landing place, where the Sea surge doth not threaten to overset a Pinnace or Boat. Our Generall having seene us all landed in safety, returned to his Fleet, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Mr. *Carliell*, our Lievtenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to March, and about noone-time, or towards one of the clocke we approached the Towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fifty brave Horses, or rather more, began to present themselves; but our small shot played upon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of Pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our Troope unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two Gates of the Towne, which were the next to the Sea-ward. They had manned them both, and planted their Ordnance for that present, and sudden alarum without the Gate, and also some Troops of small shot in Ambuscado upon the hye-way side. We divided our whole Force, being some thousand or twelve hundred Men into two parts, to enterprize both the Gates at one instant; the Lievtenant Generall having openly vowed to Captaine *Powell* (who led the Troope that entered the other Gate) that with Gods good favour he would not rest untill our meeting in the Market-place.

Their Ordnance had no sooner discharged upon our neere approach, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lievtenant Generall began forthwith to advance both his voyce of encouragement and pace of Marching; the first Man that was slaine with the Ordnance, being very neer unto himselfe, and thereupon hastened all that he might to keepe them from recharging of the Ordnance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscadoes, we marched or rather ran so roundly into them as pell mell we entered the Gates, and gave them more care every Man to save himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight; we forthwith repaired to the Market-place: but to be more truly understood, a place of very faire spacious square ground before the great Church; whether also came (as had been agreed) Captaine *Powell* with the other Troope; which place with some part next unto it, we strengthened with Barricadoes, and there (as the most convenient place) assured our selves, the City being farre too spacious for so small and weary a Troope to undertake to guard. Somewhat after midnight they vwho had the guard of the Castle, hearing us busie about the Gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same; some being taken prisoners, and some flying away by the helpe of Boats, to the other side of the Haven, and so into the Country.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not into the halfe part of the Town, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the Ordnance that each part was correspondent to other: we held this Town the space of one Moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents more then are well remembred for the present; but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his Message to
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the *Spaniards* a Negro Boy with a Flag of vvhite, signifying truce, as is the *Spaniards* ordinary manner to doe there, vvhhen they approach to speake to us; vvhich Boy unhappily was first met with, by some of those who had beene belonging as Officers for the King in the *Spanish* Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, and contrary to that good usage wherewith we had entertained their Messengers, furiously strooke the poore Boy through the body with one of their Horsemens staves, with which wound the Boy returned to the Generall, and after he had declared the manner of this wrongfull cruelty, dyed forthwith in his presence; wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commanded the Provost Martiall to cause a couple of Fryers, then prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the Boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our Souldiers, & there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done; and with this Messenger further, that untill the party who had thus murdered the Generals Messenger, were delivered into our hands, to receive condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, untill they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, he that had been Captaine of the Kings Galley, brought the Offendor to the Towns end, offering to deliver him into our hands, but it was thought a more honourable revenge, to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselves; which was done accordingly.

During our being in this Town, as formerly also at *S. Jago* there had passed justice upon the life of one of our

Company for an odious matter: to here likewise was there an *Irish* man hanged, for the murdering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed many Treaties betwene their Commissioners and us, for ransome of their Citie, but upon disagreements, we still spent the early mornings in firing the our most houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high lofts, gave us no small travel to ruine them. And albeit for divers dayes together, we ordained each morning by day breake, untill the heat began at nine of the Clocke, that two hundred Marriners did nought else but labour to fier and burn the said houses without our trenches, whilest the Souldiers in like proportion stood forth for their Guard: yet did we not or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the Towne. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastned by some other respects, we vvere contented to accept of five and twenty thousand Duckets of five shilling six pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the Towne.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at *S. Domingo*, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke and token, of the unsatiabable ambition of the *Spanish* King and his Nation, vvhich vvas found in the Kings house, vvherein the chief Governour of that City and Countrey is appointed alwayes to lodge, vvhich vvas this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend up by a faire large paire of stairs, at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walk in, somewhat like unto a gallery, wherein upon one of the Walls, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large

large Scutchion, the armes of the King of *Spaine*, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the Sea and the Earth, vwhereupon is a Horse standing on his hinder part within the Globe, and the oher forepart vvithout the Globe, lifting up (as it were) to leape, vvith a scrole painted in his mouth, wherein was written theise words in Latin *Non sufficit orbis*: which is as much to say, as the World sufficeth not, vwhereof the meaning vvvas required to be knowne of some of those of the better sort that came in Commission to treat upon the ransome of the Town, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smiling sort, vvithout answering any thing, as being greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was told them, that if the Queen of *England* vvould resolutely prosecute the Wars against the King of *Spaine*, he should be forced to lay aside that proud and unreasonable reaching vaine of his; for he should finde more then enough to do, to keepe that which he had already, as by the present example of their lost Town they might for a beginning perceiue well enough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded City so well inhabited of gallant People, very bravely apparelled (vwhereof our Souldiers found good store for their relief) should asoord no greater Riches then was found there, vwherein it is to be understood that the *Indian* people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of *Hispaniola* (the same being neere hand as great as *England*) vvvere many yeares since cleane consumed by the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, which vvvas cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the Gold and Silver Mines of this Island are wholly given over, and thereby they are
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aine in this Island to use Copper money, whereof vvas found very great quantity. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and Hides of Oxen and Kine, which in this waste Countrey of the Island are bred in infinite numbers, the soile being very fertile: and the said Beasts are fed up to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesaid. We found here great store of strong Wine, sweet Oyle, Vinegar, Olives and other such like provisions, as excellent Wheat-meale packed up in Wine pipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Wollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes; all which provisions are brought out of *Spaine* and served us for great relief. There vvas but a little Plate or Vessel of Silver, in comparison of the great Pride in other things of this Towne, because in those hot Countries they use much these earthen Dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call *Parsellina*, and is had out of the *East-India*; and for their drinking, they use Glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some Plate we found, and many other good things, as their household garniture very Gallant and Rich, which had cost them deere, although unto us they were of small importance.

From *S. Domingo* we put over to the maine or firme Land, and going all alongst the Coast, we came at the last in sight of *Cartagena*, standing upon the Sea side so near as some of our Barks in passing alongst, approched vwith the reach of their Culverin shot, which they had planted upon certaine Platformes. The harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the Town, whereinto vve entred about three or foure of the Clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance,
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or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the evening we put our selves on Land towards the Harbour mouth, under the leading of Master *Carleill* our Lieutenant Generall, who after he had digested us to march forward about the midnight, as easily as foot might fall, expressly commanding to keepe close by the Sea with of the shore for our best and surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once we had lost within an houre after our first beginning to March, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke upon him to be our Guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have been done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the Town, their Horsemen which were some hundred, met us, and taking the alarm, retired to their towneward againe upon the first Volley of our Shot that was given them: for the place where we encountered being Woody and bushy even to the water side, was unmeet for their service.

At this instant we might hear some Peeeces of Artillery discharged, with diverse small shot towards the Harbour, which gave us to understand, according to the Order set downe in the evening before by our Generall, that the Vice-Admirall accompanied with Captaine *Venner*, Captaine *White*, and Captaine *Crosse*, with other Sea Captaines, and with diverse Pinnaces and Boates should give some attempt unto the little Fort standing on the entry of the inner Haven, neer adjoyning to the town, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained over: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more then the giving of them an Alarm on that other side of the Haven being a mile and a halfe from the place where we now were. In which attempt the Vice-Admirall had the Rud-

der of his Skiffe stroken through with a Saker-shot, and little or no harme received elsewhere.

The Troops being now in their March, halfe a mile be hither the towne or lesse, the ground we were on grew to be straight, and not above fifty paces over, having the maine Sea on the side of it, and the Harbour vwater or inner Sea (as you may terme it) on the other side, which in this Plot is plainly shewed. This straight was fortified clean over with a stone Wall and a ditch without it; the said Wall being as orderly built with flanking in every part, as can be set down. There was onely so much of this straight unwallled, as might serve for the issuing of the Horsemen, or the passing of the carriage in time of need: but this anwallled part was not without a very good *Barri-cado* of Wine Buts or Pipes, filled vwith earth, full and thicke as they might stand on end one by another, some part of them standing even within the maine Sea.

This place of strength was furnished of six great Peeces, demi-Culverins and Sakers, which shot directly in front upon us as we approached. Now without this vwall upon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Gallies with their prowesse to the shore, having planted in them eleven peeces of Ordnance, vvhich did beat all crosse the straight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Gallies were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lievtenant generall, taking the advantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approached by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himself had formerly given, the same being the Sea-wash-shore, where
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the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lievtenant' generall commanded our shot to forbear shooting untill we were come to the wall side; and so with Pikes roundly together we approached the place, where we soone found out the Barricadoes of Pipes or Buts, to be the meereſt place for our assault; which notwithstanding it was well furnished with Pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by us: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our Swords and Pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemies nose. Our Pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed, for very few of them were armed; with which advantage our Swords and Pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry, the Lievtenant generall flue with his owne hands, the chiefe Ensigne-bearer of the *Spaniards*, vwho fought very manfully to his lives end.

We followed into the Town vwith them, and giving them no leasure to breath, vve vvan the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a vwhile before vve got it; and so vve being once seazed and assured of that, they vvvere content to suffer us to lodge vvithin their Towne, and themselves to goe to their Wives, vvhom they had carried into other places of the Country before our coming thither.

At every Streets-end they had raised very fine Barricadoes of Earth-vvorkes, vvith trenches vvithout them, as vvell made as ever vve savv any vvorke done; at the entering whereof was some little resistance, but soone overcome; it was vvith few slaine or hurt. They had joyned vvith them many *Indians*, vvhom they had placed in corners of advantage, all Bow-men, vvith their Arrowes most

villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skin, the party so touched dyed without marvell: some they slew of our People with their Arrowes, some they likewise mischieved to death with certaine Prickes of small stickes sharply pointed, of a foot and a halfe long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast up, right against our comming in the way, as we should approach from our landing towards the Towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinary way, but our keeping the Sea-wash-shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

To let passe many particular matters, as the hurting of Captain *Sampson* at sword blowes in the first entring, unto whom was committed the charge of the Pikes of the Vantgard by his lot and turne; as also of the taking of *Alonso Bravo* (the chiefe Commander of that place) by Captain *Goring*, after the said Captain had first hurt him with his Sword; unto which Captain was committed the charge of the Shot of the said Vantgard.

Captaine *Winter* was likewise by his turne of the Vantgard in this attempt, where also the Lievtenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine *Winter* through a great desire to serve by Land, having now exchanged his charge by Sea with Captain *Cecill*, for his Band of Foot^s Men.

Captaine *Powell* the Sergeant Major had by his turne the charge of the foure Companies which made the Battaile.

Captaine *Morgan*, who at *S. Domingo* was of the Vantgard, had now by turne his charge upon the Companies of the Rere-gard.

Every Man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemy was not able to endure

endure the fury of such hot assault.

We stayed here six weeks, and the sicknesse with mortality before spoken of, still continuing among us, though not with the same fury as at the first; and such as were touched with the said Sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength, yea many of them were much decayed in their memory; in so much that it was growne an ordinary judgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say, he had beene sicke of the Calentour, which is the *Spanish* name of their burning Ague: for, as I told you before, it is a very burning and pestilent Ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the evening or first night ayre, which they rearme *La serena*, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the *Indian* or naturall race of those Countrey People; by holding their Watch, were thus subjected to the infectious ayre, which at *S. Jago* was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continuall mortality, we were forced to give over our intended enterprize, to goe with *Nombre de Dios*, and so over-land to *Pannama*, where we should have stroken the stroke for the Treasure, and full recompence of our tedious travailes. And thus at *Cartagena* we tooke our first resolution to returne homewards.

But while we were yet there, it happened one day, that our Watch called the Sentinell, upon the Church-Steeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of smal Barks or Boats, making in with the Harbour of *Cartagena*, whereupon Captaine *Moone* and Captaine *Varney*, with *John Grant* the Master of the *Tyger*, and some other Sea-

men embarked themselves in a couple of small Pinna-ces, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling *Spaniards* from the Land, they might be warned by signes from comming in ; which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our Men could use : for the *Spanish* Boats, upon the sight of our Pinnaces comming towards them, ran themselves a shore, and so their Men presently hid themselves in Bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our Men presently without any due regard had to the quality of the place, and seeing no man of the *Spaniards* to shew themselves, aboarded the *Spanish* Barkes or Boats, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shot at by a troope of *Spaniards* out of the Bushes ; by which volley of shot there were flaine Captaine *Varney*, which dyed presently, and Captaine *Moone*, who dyed some few dayes after, besides some foure or five others that were hurt ; and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of Souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those Men they carried were all Marriners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their Ordinance to have taken the Barkes well enough at Sea, which they might ful easily have done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the Harbor-mouth, before the *Spaniards* Boats had gotten so near the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at *S. Domingo*, there passed divets curtesies betweene us and the *Spaniards* ; as Feasting, and using them with all kindnesse and favour : so as amongst others, there came to see the Generall, the Governor of *Cartagena*, with the Bishop of the same, and diverse other Gentlemen of the better sort.

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This Towne of *Cartagena* we touched in the out parts, and consumed much with fire, as we had done *Saint Domingo* upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first Treaties touching their Ransome, which at the last was concluded betweene us, should be one hundred and ten thousand Duckets for that which was yet standing, the Ducket valued at five shillings six pence sterling.

This Towne, though not halfe so big as *S. Domingo*, gives as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deed of far more importance, by reason of the excellency of the Harbor, and the situation therof, to serve the Trade of *Nombre de Dios* and other places, and is Inhabited with far more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and brave Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suits in Law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine Land coast next unto it. And it is of no such account as *Cartagena*, for these and some other like reasons which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this Towne received of our coming towards them, from *S. Domingo*, by the space of twenty dayes before our arrivall hither, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had carried and convayed away all their Treasure and principall substance.

The Ransome of one hundred and ten thousand Duckets thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the Towne of *Cartagena*, upon the paiment of the said Ransome, we left the said Towne, and drew some part of our Souldiers into the Priory or Abbey, standing a quarter of one *English* mile below the Towne upon the Harbour water side,

side, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the *Spaniards* was yet ours, and not redeemed by their Composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their Contract, were contented to enter into another Ransome for all places, but specially for the said House, as also the Blocke-house or Castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner Harbour. And when we asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to give one thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the Block-house, which they said they were not able to ransom, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers; and therefore the said Block-house was by us undermined, and so with Gun-powder blowne up in peeces.

While this latter Contract was in making, our whole Fleet of Ships fell downe towards the Harbour mouth, where they Anchored the third time, and employed their Men in fetching of fresh Water aboard the Ships, for our Voyage homewards, which Water was had in a great Well, that is in the Island by the Harbour mouth; which Island is a very pleasant place as hath been seen, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant Fruits, as the Orange trees and others, being set orderly in Walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of Gardening and Orchards.

After six weekes abode in this place, we put to Sea the last of *March*, where after two or three dayes, a great Ship which we had taken at *S: Domingo*, and thereupon was called *The new years gift*, fell into a great leake, being laden with Ordnance, Hides, and other Spoyles, in the night she lost the company of our Fleet; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, he cast about

bout with the whole Fleet, fearing some great mischance to be happened unto her, as in very deed it so fell out; for her leake was so great, and her Men were all tyred with Pumping. But at the last having found her, and the Barke *Talbot* in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, was ready to take their Men out of her, for the saving of them. And so the Generall being fully advertised of their great extremity, made saile directly backe againe to *Cartagena* with the whole Fleet, where having stayed eight or ten dayes more, about the unlading of this Ship, and the bestowing thereof and her Men, into other Ships; we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape *S. Anthony*, being the Eastermost part of *Cuba*, whether we arrived the seven & twentieth of *Apil*. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed ankor and departed, thinking in few dayes to recover the *Mattances*, a place to the East-ward of *Havana*.

After we had sailed some fourteene dayes, we were brought to Cape *S. Anthony* againe, thorough lacke of favourable winde: but then our scarfity was grown such, as need made us looke a little better for water, which we found in sufficient quantity, being indeede, as I judge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered up by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the Sea side.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboard the Ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest, as also at *S. Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and all other places, having alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleet, accompany ing them, as it is said, with such won-

derfull travell of body, as doubtlesse had he beene the meanest person, as he was the chieftest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour : and no lesse happy doe we accompt him, for being associated with Master *Carleill* his Lievtenant Generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance, he atchieved so many and happy enterprises of the War, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull Orders, Lawes, and course of Justice and for the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, we departed now the second time from this Cape of S. *Anthony* the thirteenth of *May*, and proceeding about the Cape of *Florida*, we never touched any where, but coasting alongst *Florida*, and keeping the shore still in sight, the eight and twentieth of *May* early in the morning, we descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was indeed a Scaffold upon foure long Mastes, railed on end for men to discover to the Seaward, being in the latitude of thirty degrees, or very neare thereunto. Our Pinnaces manned, and comming to the shore, we marched up alongst the River side, to see what place the Enemie held there : for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in Person, the Lieutenant Generall having the Vanguard, and going a mile up or somewhat more by the River side, we might discern on the other side of the River over against us, a fort, which newly had been built by the *Spaniards*, and some mile or three about above the fort, was a little Town or village without wals, built of wooden houses, as this Plot here doth plainly shew : we forthwith prepared to have Ordnance for the
bat-

battery, and one Peece was a little before the evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lievtenant Generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as we afterwards understood by a *Frenchman*, which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foot of the fort Wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lievtenant Generall was determined to passe the River this night with foure Companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neare the Fort, as that he might play with his Muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appeare; and so afterward to bring and plant the battery with him, but the helpe of the Marriners for that sudden to make Trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted untill the next night.

In the night the Lievtenant General rooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine *Morgan*, and Captaine *Sampson*, with some others besides the rowers, and went to view what gard the Enemy kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the Enemy taking the *Alarum*, grew fearfull that the whole Force was approaching to the assault, and therefore with all speed abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their Peeces. They thus gone, and he being returned unto us againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a *Frenchman* being a Phipher (who had been prisoner with them) in a little Boat, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of *Orange* his song, and being called unto by the Guard, he told them before he put foot out of the Boat, what he was himselfe, and how the *Spaniards* were gone from the Fort,

offering either to remaine in hands there, or else to return to the place with them that would goe.

Upon this Intelligence, the Generall, the Lievtenant Generall, with some of the Captaines in one Shiffe, and the Vice-Admiral with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnaces furnished of Souldiers with them, put presently over towards the Fort, giving order for the rest of the Pinnaces to follow. And in our approach, some of the Enemy bolder then the rest, having stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of Ordnance at us; but on shore we went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of Timber, the Wals being none other but whole Masts or bodies of Trees set upright and close together, in manner of a Pale, without any Ditch as yet made, but who intended with some more time, for they had not as yet finished all their work, having begun the same some three or foure Moneths before: so as to say the truth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subject both to fire and easie assault.

The platforme whereon the Ordnance lay, was whole bodies of long Pine trees, whereof there is great plenty, layed a crosse one on another, and some little earth amongst. There was in it thirteen or fourteen great peeces of brasse Ordnance, and a Chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling, by estimation of the Kings treasure, to pay the Souldiers of that place, who were one hundred and fifty Men.

The Fort thus won, which they called *S. John Fort*, and the day opened, we assayed to goe to the Towne, but could not by reason of some Rivers and broken ground which was betweene the two places; and therefore enforced

forced to imbarke againe into our Pinnaces, we went thither upon the great maine River, which is called, as also the Towne by the name of *S. Augustine*.

At our approaching to land, there was some that began to shew themselves, & to bestow some few shot upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their runing thus away, the Serjeant Major finding one of their Horses ready saddled & bridled, took the same to follow the chase, and so overgoing all his Company, was (by one layed behinde a Bush) shot through the head, and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with Swords and Daggers, before any could come neere to his reskue. His death was much lamented, being in very deed an honest wise Gentleman, and a Souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called *S. Augustine*, we understood the King did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fifty Souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagus beyond to the Northwards, called *S. Helena*, he did there likewise keepe one hundred and fifty more, serving there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other Nations from Inhabiting any part of all that Coast, the Government wherof was committed to one *Pedro Melendez Marqueffe*, Nephew to that *Melendez* the Admittall, who had overthrown Master *John Hawkins* in the Bay of *Mexico* some fifteen or sixteen years agoe. This Governor had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Here it was resolved in full assembly of Captaines, to undertake the enterprize of *S. Helena*, and from thence to seek out the Inhabitation of our *English* Country-Men

in *Virginia*, distant from thence some six degrees Northward.

When we came thwart of Saint *Helena* the shoals appearing dangerous, and we having no Pilot to undertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admiral had been the same night in four fadome and a halfe three leagues from the shore: and yet we understood by the help of a known Pilot, there may and doth goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleet.

We passed thus alongst the Coast hard aboard the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is low and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of *June* upon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinary all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of *Florida* hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our *English* Country men (that had been sent thither the year before by Sir *Walter Raleigh*) and brought one aboard, by whose direction we proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our Shipps being of great draught unable to enter, we anchored all without the Harbour in a wilde Road at Sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the Generall wrote Letters to Master *Ralph Lane*, being Governour of those *English* in *Virginia*, and then at his Fort about six leagues from the Road in an Island which they call *Roanoac*, wherein is specially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants which he understood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morrow after Master *Lane* himselfe and some of his

his company comming unto him, with the consent of his Captaines he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say : either he would leave a Ship, a Pinnace, and certaine Boares with sufficient Masters and Marriners, together furnished with a Moneths Victuall to stay and make farther discovery of the Country and coasts, and so much Victual likewise that might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three Persons) into *England* if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or else if they thought they had made sufficient discovery already, and did desire to returne into *England*, he would give them passage. But they as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully, and with great gladnesse that which was offered first. Whereupon the Ship being appointed and received into charge, by some of their owne Company sent into her by Master *Lane*, before they had received from the rest of the Fleet, the Provision appointed them, there arose a great storme (which they said was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleet in great danger to be driven from their ankoring upon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Ankors. And some of our Fleet which had lost all of which number was the ship appointed for Master *Lane* and his company) was driven to put to Sea in great danger, in avoyding the Coast, and could never see us againe untill we met in *England*. Many also of our small Pinnaces and Boats were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offered them (with consent of his Captaines) another Ship with some Provision, although not such a one for their turnes,

as might have been spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their Harbour. Or else if they would, to give them passage into *England*, although he knew he should performe it with greater difficulty then he might have done before.

But Master *Lane* with those of the chiefeſt of his company he had then with him, conſidering what ſhould be beſt for them to doe, made request unto the Generall under their hands, that they might have paſſage for *England*: the which being granted, and the reſt ſent for out of the Country and ſhipped, we departed from that coaſt the eighteenth of *June*.

And ſo God be thanked, both they and we in good ſafety arrived at *Portsmouth* in *July* 28. 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no ſmall honour to our Prince, our Countrey and our ſelves.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this Voyage, is eſtimated at threeſcore thouſand pounds, whereof the Companies which have travelled in the Voyage were to have twenty thouſand pounds, the Adventurers the other forty. Of which twenty thouſand pounds (as I can judge) will redound ſome ſix pounds to the ſingle ſhare.

We loſt ſome ſeven hundred and fifty Men in the Voyage.

The Men of name that dyed and were ſlaine in this Voyage, as I can preſently call to my remembrance, are theſe:

Captaine *Powell*.
 Captaine *Varney*.
 Captaine *Moone*.
 Captaine *Fortefcute*.
 Captaine *Bigges*.

Cap-

Sir *Francis Drake* and others.

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Captaine *Cecill*.

Captaine *Hannam*.

Captaine *Greenefield*.

Thomas Tucker a Lievtenant.

Alexander Starkey a Lievtenant.

Master *Escot* a Lievtenant.

Master *Waterhouse* a Lievtenant.

Master *Nicholas Winter*.

Master *Alexander Carleill*.

Master *Robert Alexander*.

Master *Scroope*.

Master *James Dier*.

Master *Peter Duke*.

With some other, who for haste I cannot so suddenly thinke on.

The Ordnance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron were about two hundred and forty, whereof the two hundred and some more were Brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

In *S. Jago* some two or three and fifty Peeces.

In *S. Domingo* about foure score, whereof was very much great Ordnance, as whole Cannon, Demi-Cannon, Culverins, and such like.

In *Cartagena* some sixty and three Peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of *S. Augustine* were fourteen Peeces, the rest was Iron Ordnance, of which the most part was gotten at *S. Domingo*, the rest at *Cartagena*.

F I N I S.

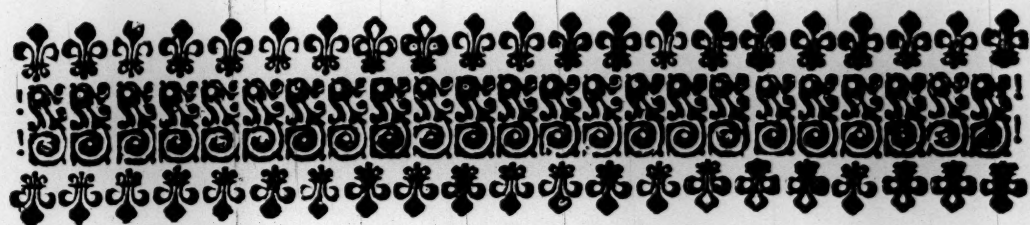
A Full
RELATION
Of another
VOYAGE
INTO THE
WEST INDIES,

MADE BY
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE;
Accompanied with *Sir John Hawkins, Sir*
Thomas Baskerfield, Sir Nicholas Clifford,
and others.

Who set forth from *Plimouth* on the 28. of
August 1595.



Printed at *London* for *Nicholas Bourne*, dwelling at
the South entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1652.



A FULL
RELATION
OF

Another Voyage made by
Sir *FRANCIS DRAKE* and
others to the *WEST INDIES*; who
set forth from *Plimouth* the 28. of
August, 1595.



HIS Valiant and Heroick Worthy,
having many yeers faithfully served
his Prince and Country, doth yet
more apparently manifest his impar-
riall integrity to both, as may appear
by this Relation following of another
Voyage made by him into the *west In-*
dies, accompanied with other Gentlemen, whose names
and Offices immediately ensue :

Sir *Francis Drake* }
Sir *John Hawkins* } Chiefe Generals.
Sir *Thomas Baskersfield* Coronor Generall.
Sir *Nicholas Clifford* Lievtenant Generall.

F 3

Captaine

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Captaine *Arnold Baskerfield* Serjeant Major.

Captaine *Nicholas Baskerfield*.

Captaine *Barkley*.

Captaine *Grinstone*.

Captaine *Rush*.

Captaine *Boswell*.

Captaine *Platt*.

Captaine *Chichester*.

Captaine *Stanton*.

Captaine *Fenton*.

In the thirty seventh year of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, being the eight and twentieth of *August* one thousand five hundred ninety five, we embarked at *Plimouth*, thence we sail'd toward the *Grand Canadoes*, in which passage, *Sep. 6.* about noon, we descri'd a *French* man of War (in the height of the *Northern Cape*) whom we chasing immediately overtooke, after him a (*Rochellor*) having been at *New-found-land*, whom we quietly let passe: after that we overtooke two *Biskners* bound for *Barbara*, who accompanied us untill they could take their course thither.

The ninth of *September* we espyed a Ship of *Weymouth*, whom we chased and fetched up, who speaking with our Generall accompanied us to the *Grand Canadoes*. Presently after we discovered twenty of the King of *France's* men of Warre, who chased us but could not fetch us up, and therefore left us.

The nineteenth of *September* we met with a Frigate of the Earle of *Cumberlands* who brought us word that the Kings men of Warre were going homewards.

The twenty five of *September* we descried two Islands, the one called *Hamseroth*, West and by South; The other *Forta fortuna*, both standing in 28 degrees, and are distant
one

one from the other 4 or 5 leagues Inhabited only by a savage people. These Islands from the *Grand Canadoes* are distant ten leagues.

The twenty sixt of *September* we anchored in the afore-said port of *Canadoes* otherwise called *S. John Decrus*, and about ten of the clock in the forenoone we were imbarked into Boats and Pinnaces, endeavoring with the greatest celerity to attain to land, but were frustrated of our intentions by the Enemies vigilancy, who waiting our comming had intrenched themselves in the very place where we should have put to shore, who upon our approach plyed us so fast with great and small shot, both from the Castle and towne, and from the other side of us, that we were constrained to retire with the losse of some few men unto our Ships againe.

The Enemy were in number betweene three or foure hundred strong.

The same day being all imbarked in our Ships againe, we departed to a certaine place where we watered, it lyeth West and by North from the towne, and was in times past a great and famous River. But now it is overgrown with grasse, it commeth from the Rocks, and runneth to the Sea.

The people of this Island being a barbarous people and Mountaneers; vve had slaine at this watering place by them, of our men which stragled into the Countrey, amongst whom was Captaine *Grinston* and foure more with him, the which were wounded very sore and torne with dogges, which they keepe of purpose to destroy our men when any of them come there to water. This Island yeelderh much Wine, as *Canadoe* Wine, and divers kind of graine, as Wheat and such like, great store of Cobies, and Partredges, and Tresse, which have a joyce like Milk but rank poyson.

This

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This Iland hath many mighty Rocks in it ; there is about twenty leagues distant from this Iland another Iland called the *Tenereffe* or Peak of *Tenereffe*. It is a mighty high land.

Sunday the twenty eight of *September* a little before night we departed from the aforesaid watering place towards the Orientall *Indies*, we tooke our course South West and by West. *Septemb. 29* being *Michaelmas* day, we sayled South west and by South, the thirtieth we sayled South west, the first of *October* we sayled West and by South, the thirteenth we sayled West in the height of sixteenth degr. the fourteenth the wind was southerly : the five and twentieth of this Moneth, the *Hope* and the *Adventure* fell foule on one another about ten of the clocke in the night, so that they of the *Adventure* were constrained to cut downe their Nisson Mast, and to fling it overboard. The night being very darke and there arising a great tempest of Haile and Raine, at the same time they were in extream Jeopardy of their lives, which caused in them a very great terror. The twenty seventh of *October* we espyed the Iland of *Martinino*, which lay from us towards the West. This Iland is inhabited by a Barbarous people called *Canibals*. We vvere thirty dayes sayling between the *Canadoes* and *Martinino*. From this Iland we sayled towards an Iland called *Dominica* where is great store of Tobacco. It is distant from *Martinino* about ten or twelve of our English miles, and beareth West and by North. The people of this Iland be not altogether so rude as other peopl are; for they would traffick with us for hatched Knives & such like Commodities in exchange for their Tobacco which is the chiefeft commodity this Iland yeeldeth. The Weapons used by these people are Bowes and Arrowes made of a Reed, with a sharpe

sharp peece of Brafeilon the end thereof; they to use wear their haire very long, cut round by their shoulders. The thirtieth of this instant *October*, we came to another Island called *Gordelompa* which is distant from that of *Dominica* ten leagues; we went unto a certaine River of that Island; on the West side there be many Rivers issuing out of the Mountaines with great force into the Sea. This Island is not inhabited, but is a very Wildernesse wherein are many wilde Beasts; amongst the rest there is one worthy of your observation in shape of a Serpent. We continued there from the thirtieth of *October* to the fourth of *November*. From thence we sayled towards the River *della hatch*, and struke our course North West and by North. The seventh of *November* vve descried three Islands of the *Trigonies* vvhich lyeth between *Gordelompa* and Saint *John de Portrizo*; the first is called *Mononalla*, the second *Rotmido*, the third *Savoa*; we sayled within three or four leagues of them, vvhether vve found it in depth sometimes five otherwhiles eight fathome; the shoal beareth from us North east. The eight of *November* our Generall set on shoar all the Land-men, to the end that every Captaine might know his owne men. The tenth of *November* vve departed from that Harbour to another, three or four *English* miles distant, vvhether vve continued untill tuesday the eleventh of *November*, and then set sayle for Saint *John de Portrizo* West and by North.

These Islands belonging to *Virginia* be many in number, vve cannot name them because they be without Inhabitants; there are many faire Harbours in them, in some whereof one thousand Ships may ride at anchor; on every side the Mountaines are very high. Thence we went to some passages not farre of. The twelfth of *November* be-

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ing Wednesday, we anchored within three or foure *Eng-
lish* miles of the Towne of *Portricho*, against a great Fort,
where was placed a great peece of Ordnance, which plyed
us with shot divers times. The same day Sir *John Ham-
kins* dyed at the place aforesaid; whose death, in regard
that he was one of our chiefe Commanders, a wise, dis-
creet and carefull Man for his Company, was no little
grief unto us all. The same day also was Sir *Nicholas
Clifford*, Captaine *Straiford*, Master *Brutt Browne*
were wounded with the same peece of Ordnance from
the said Fort, all at one time, sitting at Supper with our
Generall Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Thomas Baskersfield*;
the stoole that Sir *Francis Drake* sat on was struke from
under him, as he was drinking of a cup of Beere, yet
by Gods providence he escaped with all the rest, but one-
ly them three before mentioned; the same night Sir *Ni-
cholas Clifford* dyed of the same wound; and the same
night we went against the Towne, where we an-
chored.

The next day, which was thursday, the 13. of *Novem-
ber*, our Generall called a Councell. The night follow-
ing, about nine of the clocke in the night, certaine shott
being appointed to be imbarked in our Pinnaces and
Boats, with Gunners and Fire-workes; there were to the
number of five hundred Men which went within the
Harbour to burne the five Men of Warre which rode
within the Harbour, one of them was of the burthen of
foure hundred tunne, the rest not so big; in this Ship
was planted great store of great Ordnance, which play-
ed upon our Men exceedingly, besides great store of small
shott, likewise great store of great shott from the shore,
with others, as Hargabushes of croke, and Muskets, and
such like, which played at us on both sides most vali-
antly

antly in the time of this Incounter. They had planted on this plot of great Ordnance one hundred and three score (besides small short) as were to be numbred. This assault, although it brought unto us no great profit, in respect of the losse of one of our Ships, called the *Little Francis*, which was taken by them before our approach which gave them intelligence of our comming; also the losse of some of our Men at that time; the which was a most valiant attempt and worthy to be Chronicled. There was of the Enemy burned, and slaine, and drowned all the men in the great Ship, but some three or foure that we tooke up out of the water, to the intent that they should reveale somewhat unto us; they informed us, that they having intelligence of our comming by our Ship that was taken by them, our end and intent was frustrated.

This Towne was of great force to the *Spaniards*, and had in it three millions of Treasure of the King of *Spaines*, which those five men of War came of purpose for it; and they told us also, that they kept our men at *Portricho*, the which they tooke in the Ship called the *Little Francis*; whereupon our Generall wrote unto the chiefe Governour of the Towne to be good unto our men, and to deale with them as he should doe the like with their men, and to send them for *England* again in safety. Also we understood that there was three hundred Souldiers in this Towne of *Saint John de Portrizo*. This towne standeth on a very small Island, and is compassed with the Sea on the one side, and a great River on the other side; we could not come nigh the towne to view the proportion of it, because it standeth in a Valley, and hath a great Fort new built betwixt us and it. We could not come within the sight of the maine Island,

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Island, which joyneth to the Towne (so farre as we could
discerne) it seemeth to be of a vast longitude and la-
titude.

The fifteenth of *November*, being saturday, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Nicholas Clifford* were throwne over-
board: the same day we espyed a *Spanish* Carvill com-
ing towards *Saint John de Portricho*, but from what place
we knew not; our Generall sent with all speed, and im-
barked some Men in Pinnaces with all haste to meet with
him; but when the men in the Castle of *Portricho* espi-
ed it, they shot off a great peece of Ordnance as a war-
ning to them not to approach any neerer; the Carvill
perceiving, ran himsele on the breach and ashore, and
saved their men, which fled away into the Mountaines, so
that we could not come to them.

The sixteenth being Sunday we departed from *Saint John de Portricho* at which place we Mustered all our
Men, and every Captaine knew his Men in more ample
manner then they did before.

The same day we imbarked our selves in our Ships
again, and with all speed we sailed to a place called
Saint John Jermans Bay, there we landed, it is distant
from *Portricho* thirty six leagues, there we landed cer-
tain of our Companies to guard our Carpenters that did
build our Pinnaces; not far from this place is a House cal-
led an *Ingeneroide*, where is great store of Sugar made; it
is inhabited with *Spaniards*. The same day Master *Brut Browne* dyed.

On Saturday the three and twentieth of *November* our
Generall held a Court Marshall; to which *John Stand-
ley* was called to answer to some matters objected a-
gainst him. The two and twentieth Sir *Thomas Baskersfield*
tooke two men of this Island, a *Negroe* and a *Clemcronne*.

The

The twenty fourth day being Munday, the Ship called *John of Trolony* of *Plimmouth* was burned in the same Bay of Saint *John Jermans*: the same day we sailed to another Island called *Crusao*. The five and twentieth being Tuesday vve sailed South and by East, and South and by West; on Wednesday the twentieth six vve sailed South and by West, in which course standeth *Hispaniola* and an Island called *Mono* did beare from us West and by North.

The twenty seven being thursday, vve sailed South and by West. The twenty ninth being Saturday, vve came to the Island called *Crusao* which is distant from the Bay of Saint *Jermans* about one hundred and fifty leagues; from *Portricho* we sayled South South East: at this place we stayed three or foure houres because we could get no good Harbour to anchor at by reason we were constrained to depart. Our Generall did suppose this Island to be another Island called *Aremba*.

The twenty ninth of *November* on the Larbord side it beareth South South East, it is distant some eight or nine leagues; the same day we espyed the maine land called the *west Indies*, which bore from us North North East, and it is a very high land; vve sailed along this Coast to a certaine towne called *River Della Hatch*, the same day at night we anchored within nine or ten leagues of the towne of *River Della Hatch*.

The second of *December* being Munday all our Soldiers being imbarked in Boats and Pinnaces, we sailed to the towne all that day; about one of the clocke in the night vve entred the towne, the Enemy fled into the Country before, leaving some of their Soldiers in the towne to the number of ten or twelve, which gave us a volley of shot, and two of them were taken prisoners, the

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rest fled away. We found nothing in the towne of any account; they had carried all away into the Woods, and hid them there, neither was there any Victuals, but what we went into the Country for our selves, for they had droven all their Cattle away, because they heard of our comming a weeke before we came thither.

December the third, being tuesday the *Spaniards* came to parley with us for a certain sum of Treasure for ran-some for the said towne. The fourth of *December* they brought Pearle, &c. but lesse in value then was com-pounded for, which our Generall Sir *Francis Drake* re-fused, and thereupon ordered that it should be set on Fire and burned, which accordingly was done at our de-parture.

The fifteenth of *December* being Friday, the Enemy made faire promises to our Generall, which was onely to have us to stay as we supposed, till they had sent word to other places, as afterwards the Governour confessed.

The sixteenth of *December* the Governour came to parley and to tell us his determined purpose of his de-lay, which was as aforesaid; our companies marched divers times for Victuals and so met with the Governour. We tooke some more of their men prisoners, and found some of their Goods afterward which we carried away. But when we saw that they would not come to any faire cor-respondence or agreement, our Generall commanded us to burne all places where ever we came.

The day before our departure we left the towne of a light Fire, unlesse it was a new Religious house not fi-nished, and another house that they use to bring all the Kings treasure and Merchandise.

In this House we found some of their treasure and Merchandise with other things which was brought in, as
Pearle

Pearle and such like, which was brought unto the Generall. The Country yeeldeth great store of Cattle, as Oxen, Beeves, Goats, Sheepe, Horses, and Asses, as also great store of grasse. The people that Inhabit this Country are *Idians* and *Negroes*, they live in the Mountaines being wilde and savage People, but onely such as the *Spaniards* keepe under subjection; those wilde People doe Warre against the *Spaniards*; in this Country are great store of Fowls, as Pellicans, and other red Fowls, being Sea Fowls in the proportion of a Crane.

There is distant from the towne some ten leagues a mighty great Mountaine bearing towards the West from the towne of River *Della Hatch*. This Hill seemeth to be far higher then the *Glorodel*. Upon it snow remaineth continually through the coldnesse of its situation.

The nineteenth of *December* being Saturday, we came to another towne called *Santa Martha*, the which we entred and there we found the Enemy with their Wives and Children fled out of the towne into the Mountains, but our men following them into the Woods found some Treasure with other things of some value. The same day we tooke one of the chiefe Cavaliers of the towne, he was the Governours Deputy of the towne, the which we brought away with us; we departed from *Santa Martha*, the twentieth of *December* being Sunday, at our departure from the towne (leaving it on fire,) we were informed by the *Spaniards* that we were within three leagues of a Golden Mine.

The twenty five of *December* being thursday, we sayled towards another towne called *Nombre de dios*. The same day being *Christmas* day we came within the sight of the Island called *Pinos*, distant from us twelve leagues. The twenty seventh of *December* we anchored before the
face

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face of the town of *Nombre de dios*; the same day Captain *Arnold Baskerfield* being Serjeant Major dyed; we being embarked we landed all our men an *English* mile from the towne, and so marched toward the towne, where the Enemy gave us a brovadoe of shor, and so they ran away into the Woods, all their Goods and Treasure was gone before, they left none but what was the Soldiers and that lay in a great Fort. They had but three great Peeces of Ordnance, and one of them broke with the Shot, some of the Soldiers we tooke prisoners.

The King usuall sendeth all his Treasure and Merchandize to this place, and to that end hath Boats and Pinna-ces, which continually bring his Treasure from *Panama* to this place. We found some treasure in the Woods as Oyle, Wine, Vinegar, Meale, and Linnen-Cloth. Our Generall having intelligence of the Governors going towards *Panama*. The munday after Sir *Thomas Baskerfield* our Coriner General with six hundred men went by land, with intent to have surprized him. The way was extream dangerous to travell in, not onely in regard of the Enemy but also of the water and Rocks, insomuch that oft times we went in perill of our lives. In our march we saw great store of Munkyes, Apes, and could heare Lyons. This towne of *Panama* standeth upon the South Sea, and is distant from *Nombre de dios* eighteen leagues; we marched nine leagues but could get no farther, the Enemy preventing us by a Fort which they made on the top of a Rocke, which we of necessity must march through. It was so narrow that but one man could goe before another, which they taking the advantage of, slew our men as fast as they ascended up; there being no other way to passe we were constrained to retire with the losse of some of our best men, and with little Joy unto us that we missed
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of our intended purpose. Comming to *Nombre de dios* vve seeng all of it almost consumed with fire, vve hasted with all speed unto our Ships againe. In this March a paire of Shoos vvas sold for thirty shillings, and a Basket Cake for ten Shillings; so great was our want both of Cloathing and Victuals.

The chief Captains and Commanders in this March was Sir Thomas Baskersfield, Captain Nicholas Baskersfield our Lieutenant General, who vvas hurt in this march; Captain Stanton, Captaine Boswell, Captaine Christopher, Captaine Power and Captain Bartley. The night before vve came to *Nombre de dios* our men had burned the great House where in the Kings Treasure used to lye, vhen it came from *Panama*; also there was burnt a town Inhabited by *Negroes*, wh ch is distant two leagues from *Nombre de dios*; at our coming thither they of the towne gave us a volley of shot, and so ran away leaving the towne on fire.

The fifth of *January* being munday, vve departed out of the Harbour towards *Scoday*; the tenth of *Ianuary* being saturday, vve came to *Scoday*, it beareth from *Nombre de dios* North and by West. The same day vve gave chase to a *Spanish* Frigate which came from this Island, the which vve tooke: the eleventh being sunday vve brought the Frigate to our General, we found in him four *Spaniards* and three *Negroes*, and not any thing of any account; she vvas found to be a spye comming from *Nombre de dios*, and going to the townes there to give intelligence of us.

The same day our Generall commanded all our sicke Men to be carried a shore and to have the best comfort vve vvere able to give them to strengthen them; also vve builded four Pinnaces, and tooke in fresh vvater.

This Island is a Wildernesse vvithout any Inhabitants, but great store of wilde Beasts, as Beares, Nelegatures,

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Guanoe; the Nelegature is in form like to a Serpent, the Guanoe like to a Snake, having foure legges and along rayle, on the backe are many prickes; these live on the Trees as the Squirrils doe, the Nelegature liveth in the water and eateth sweet meate, and in his bladder is a little fish accordingly, its of the big-
 ness of a fish, we did eat very many of them. The twentieth of *January* we departed from this Island of *Scoday* bearing backe againe towards *Nombre de dios* to an Island where we continued two dayes, afterward we went to *Porta Vella*, being five dayes sailing betweene *Scoday* and *Porta Vella*. The same day *Sir Francis Drake* our General departed this life, whose death was exceedingly deplored, his interment was after this manner; His Corps being laid in a Cophin of Lead, he was let downe into the Sea, the Trumpets in dolefull manner echoing out this lamentation for so great a losse, and all the Cannons in the Fleet were discharged according to the custome of all Sea Funerall obsequies. We continued here untill the eighth of *February* wating and ballasing our Ships. In this Horbor are some few houses Inhabited with *Spaniards*, they beginning to build a new Towne and a great Bulwarke, which we spoyled and burned; we found many Chests full of Carpenters tools with many Iron Bars and other necessities for building, which we brought away with us. The day before we came away the Enemy came downe and rooke some six of our Men at the wating place. Certaine of our Men were sent in Boats up the South side of the River, where we found some more of their Carpenters tools. This Harbour is very commodious for Shipping, having a good anchoring place and ten or twelve fathome deep in water; we landed great store of *Spaniards* and *Negroes* at this Island, giving the Enemy to understand that he would use our
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Men well which they tooke prisoners comming from *Panama*, and sent a Messenger not hearing any answer again, yet at our departure the Governour was come down with many Souldiers with him who wrote to our Generall. The eighth of *February* we came away from this Harbour of *Porta Vella* beating up to the height of *Cartagena*, which was ten dayes after, we tooke our course for *Gemico* North North and by West; within seventeen or eighteen leagues of *Cartagena* there lyeth shoales enor twelve fathome deepe. The second of *February* being Thursday, we descried certaine Islands called the *Gourdanes* which is distant from *Porta Vella* two hundred leagues North North East, and *Gemica* beareth from these Islands of *Gourdanes* towards the East, they are very high land, and to the West very low even land; we sailed all along to the *Cape Corenthus*; towards the West of this low Land is shoales sometimes three fathome, which one of our Ships hardly escaped. The twenty seventh of this moneth we passed these shoales by reason of a great gale of wind, and tooke our course North North East. The saturday being the one and thirtieth of *February*, we espyed the Islands of the *Pines* West North west on the starbord side; these Islands are without Inhabitants. The first of *March* we espyed twenty saile of the Kings men of Warre, we chased them and about three of the clocke in the afternoone we began to fight with them and continued three hours in fight, the Viseadmirall gave us a shot, then the *Elizabeth Boneventure* gave her a shot again, then the *Boneventure* came in and gave him a bravadoe with all her broad side that she shot through and through, then came up our Generall and gave them a brave volley of shot, next came the *Defiance* and she laid on most bravely, next the *Adventure* she laid on that we could see through and through; it was a most brave attempt

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attempt, but God be thanked we had the upper hand of them, we plying the Viceadmirall so fast that if she had not born up from us she had funke, and another that was near her; we drove them into such a puzell that with stopping their leakes as we judged, their Powder being loose fired all the Ships as we did behold, within two hours after we had done the fight. The next day we sailed towards Cape S. *Anthony* there following us but thirteen of our gallants, they kept their course and would not come at us, but at length they came somewhat nigh us and the *Defiance* and the *Adventure* bore up to them, but they made away as soone as ever they were able, and so we were rid of our gallants. The fourth of *March* we descried the Cape of S. *Anthony*, it is distant from Cape *Corents* eighty leagues, from thence to the *Havana*, eighty leagues from thence to the *Gulfe*. The same day we descried the Cape *Florida*, which is low Land and did beare from us North West and by North, our course being North East, the same day we entred the *Gulfe* the wind being at East South East, leaving the land on the larbordside; the *Gulfe* is in length one hundred leagues, from the *Havano* eighty league, the next night we passed the *Gulfe* about twelve of the clocke in the night. The ninth of *March* we passed the *Barmothies*, we had mighty tempestuous weather. The eighth of *April* 1596. we came to the Islands of *Flowers* and *Cores*. It is inhabited with *Potugals* and such like, where we staid and watred, and traffiqued with them for Victuals or what we vvaunted, using us very kindly vvith fresh Fish, Hens and Bacon and such like, which refreshed us vvonderfull vvell; and in short time after vve gained the *English* Coast.

FINIS.

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